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HARVARD STUDIES  
IN  
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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## PREFATORY NOTE

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## CONTENTS

INDICES TO ROMAN BRICK-STAMPS . . . . .	I
Herbert Bloch	
ANCIENT IMPERIALISM: CONTEMPORARY JUSTIFICATIONS . .	105
Mason Hammond	
THE ORIGIN OF THE LATIN "NOMEN GENTILICIVM" . . . .	163
Ernst Pulgram	
LITERARY PORTRAITURE IN ANCIENT EPIC . . . . .	189
Elizabeth C. Evans	
SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D. . .	219
INDEX . . . . .	233



INDICES TO THE ROMAN BRICK-STAMPS  
PUBLISHED IN VOLUMES XV 1 OF THE  
CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM LATINARUM  
AND LVI-LVII OF THE  
HARVARD STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY \*

BY HERBERT BLOCH

*Additions and Corrections  
to CIL XV 1 and the Supplement*

- 242 In addition to the two copies of this stamp found in Lorium and recorded by Amati on which Dressel based his reading, there exist two others discovered in 1867 in Alsium, transcribed by Tocco and published as 2220 and 2221 by Dressel who did not notice their identity with 242. (They were published again without comment in *CIL* XI 2, 1, 6689, 284.) The form of the stamp is ☉. Dressel's reading of the second line (based on Amati I) is supported by the stamps of Tocco inasmuch as both of them have an initial S. The third letter of the second line seems to be an A rather than an R, in spite of Amati II and 2221; but cf. 2201 and 2202.
- 932 Dressel's restoration is confirmed in *BL* I 199-200 (59-60) (Rome). Ed. Gatti's reading LIVIANVS, NS 1910, 190 b (villa of S. Cesareo near Velletri), is undoubtedly due to an error.
- 1702 Another copy of this stamp, previously known only from an example seen by Pigghi, was published by Crostarosa, *NBAC* VII (1901), 138 no. 60 (roof of S. Croce in Gerusalemme).

\* The latter publication will be referred to henceforth as the Supplement.

- 2203 Form: ☉. Ostia 1938 (5 examples).  
 2220/1 = 242; cf. the additions to 242 above.  
 2480 Previously published in *CIL* X 2, 8056, 260.  
 2482 = *CIL* XI 2, 1, 6693, 1.  
 2484 = *CIL* XI 2, 1, 6693, 2.

**72 b** For the accurate text of this and some of the following stamps I am indebted to Guglielmo Gatti's exemplary publication of the brick-stamps from the ships of Nemi (I bolli laterizi delle navi, in Guido Ucelli, *Le Navi di Nemi*, Roma, 1940, 295-306) which I was able to use, through the author's kindness, just in time to make all necessary corrections in the Supplement. Here and in most of the following cases a reference to Gatti's contribution is added. For **72 b** cf. Gatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 298 no. 16; p. 297 fig. 310 f.

**81** Cf. Gatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 296 no. 5; p. 297 fig. 310 a.

**176 b** Read: \*176 b.

\* **184** The example published in *BC* 1906 is now in AC. In 229 b (line 2) ET is omitted, presumably by error.

\* **206** The identification of Iunius Rufus with M. Iunius Rufus, praef. Aegypti between 94 and 98 (cf. A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand*, München 1927, 339; cf. below the *index nominum*), is also based on the fact that this stamp was found in Ostia in buildings which belong to the time of Trajan.

**265** Cf. Gatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 296 no. 7; p. 297 fig. 310 b.

**293** Cf. Gatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 298 no. 18; p. 297 fig. 310 h.

**309/10** Cf. Gatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 298 no. 17; p. 297 fig. 310 g.



- 327** This stamp should have been omitted altogether from the Supplement. It is, consequently, not referred to in the indices below.
- 336** Cf. Gatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 296 no. 9; p. 297 fig. 310 c.
- 337** The reading is that adopted by Gatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 298 no. 11.
- 340** Cf. Gatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 298 no. 12; p. 297 fig. 310 d.
- 361** Cf. Gatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 298 no. 13; p. 297 fig. 310 e.
- 362** This stamp is almost certainly a badly copied fragment of 1000 c, e, or f and should not have been included in this collection. It has been omitted from the indices.
- 512** Read: \*512.

Additional Stamps

- 616** 310/I    □    *St. Marci RabbaEI*    *stella, palma,*  
    *de figlinis MarcianIS*    *luna crescens*
- Gu. Gatti, in Ucelli, *Le Navi di Nemi*, 1940, p. 303 no. 20; p. 297 fig. 310 i.
- 617** 671/2    Form: like that    NOTA \* VICCINA  
    of 670 a    C \* VETTI } *lineis rectis*  
                                       IVCVNDI }
- Gu. Gatti, *BC LXVIII* (1940), 132, with fig. (Rome). The word *nota* occurs here for the first time in the meaning of "brick-stamp."
- 618** 1270/I    □    ST · MARCIVS  
    (cf. 1966)  
    Gatti, in Ucelli, *Le Navi di Nemi*, p. 298 no. 14. 1966 is proved to be complete.

619 var. of 2192 *The first line is in mirror writing:*

☉ OPVS DOLIARE EX PRAEDIS  
RVTLI · CRISPINI

*Victoria sinistrorsum,  
pone ara*

N. Persichetti, *RM XXIV* (1909), 156-157  
(Frasso Sabino and environments, 2 copies).  
On Rutilius Crispinus cf. the *index nominum*.

620 2480/1 ☐ PETRONIAE GALLAE  
APOLLONIVS · SER · FEC

*CIL X* 2, 8056, 261 (*dolium* from Gergei in southern  
Sardinia). Overlooked by Dressel who published the  
stamp of Crescens, another workman of Petronia Galla,  
on a Roman *dolium* as 2481. Apollonius may well be  
identical with the one named in 534 the form of which is  
exactly like that of 620.

## INDICES

THE restrictions placed upon me in the compilation of the Supplement fortunately were not valid in the composition of the indices. Indeed every effort has been made to present here as useful an instrument as possible and to make the vast body of brick-stamps accessible also to those who are not familiar with this material.

Since it is one of the chief aims of these indices to facilitate the identification of new copies of stamps, it was necessary to be more elaborate than in an ordinary epigraphical index. The great majority of Greek and Latin inscriptions are documents which exist only in one example and indices to them serve primarily as guides through the material. But stamps, especially Roman brick-stamps, are apt to be found again and again, and their indices must be thorough enough to allow the identification of any specimen even if it be badly preserved or fragmentary. The very considerable and time-consuming difficulties which I encountered while engaged in this kind of work and which were due largely to the complete lack of indices, have been an invaluable experience for preparing these indices and equipping them with devices which would reduce to a fraction the time needed for many identifications.

The special competence acquired in this field amounted to an obligation which was assumed all the more readily when I was assured in 1938 by Dr. Herbert Nesselhauf of the *Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Berlin that the Academy had definitely abandoned the plan of completing *CIL* XV 1. Thus neither the Supplement nor the Indices were undertaken in competition with the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, but in the desire to fill a gap which otherwise would have remained open.

A word must be said about two indices not to be found in the following pages. A topographical index was out of the question in view of what has been said in the preface. But the detailed *Indice topografico* which forms part of the indices to my *Bolli Laterizi* composed

in 1945 and forthcoming in the current volume of the *Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica del Comune di Roma* will perhaps be of some value in this respect, as in general the indices below are supplemented by those to my earlier study. An index of the emblems which decorate so many brick-stamps must await an investigation of this subject.

In Dressel's volume the main part, containing the brick-stamps of Rome proper, is followed by a section of 424 numbers (1732-2155) which is entitled *Lateres urbani fracti vel male excepti*. This chapter represents a veritable dump in which Dressel deposited, roughly in the order of the main part, a very heterogeneous mass of documents which may be divided into four classes.

1. Fragmentary stamps not published elsewhere in *CIL XV 1*. Some were seen by Dressel himself or by trustworthy authorities, others are less well reported. I have been rather generous in admitting 108 or a fourth of the whole material to this category. Of these 40 have been completed since the publication of *CIL XV 1*. They are incorporated in the Supplement; cf. the list on p. 123, n. 1746-2129 a, to which add 1966 = 618 (in the addenda).

2. Misread copies of stamps otherwise known. For example, 1785 contains misunderstood copies of 319 (incidentally, 317 belongs in the same category), 1990 is a wrongly completed copy of 465 a.

3. Fragments which may belong to different stamps. For example, 1811 is either a fragment of 486 a or of 498.

4. Groups of stamps not sufficiently described to make an identification with individual stamps possible. For example, 1905 "bolli di mattone delle figuline di Domizio Tullo."

To incorporate all this material into the indices would have greatly diminished their usefulness. It seems clear that only the first class deserved to be included. A list of the numbers not referred to in the indices is shown here. It contains in addition a number of stamps of so cryptic a character as to defy any attempt to force them into the indices.

1655	1876	2004-2005	2271
1715-1724	1878-1879	2007-2008	2282
1731-1734	1881-1886	2010-2011	2284
1737-1741	1890-1892	2014-2016	2286
1743-1745	1895	2018-2027	2288-2289
1747-1749	1900-1901	2030-2033	2376
1751-1774	1903-1941	2035	2391
1776-1777	1946	2037	2518-2521
1779-1786	1948	2041	2523-2533
1788-1802	1952-1953	2054-2067	2535
1804-1808	1960	2070	2538-2540
1811	1964	2072-2073	2544
1813-1833	1967-1968	2075-2082	2546-2547
1835-1840	1971-1972	2084-2100*	2549-2551
1843-1845	1976-1977	2102-2137	2554-2555
1848-1856	1980-1983	2139-2155	2557
1859	1988-1990	2211	<b>327</b>
1860 b-1866	1992	2214	<b>362</b>
1868	1998-1999	2216	<b>433</b>
1872-1874	2002	2220-2223	<b>464</b>

Since the *CIL* contains no precedent in the way of indices to a volume of stamps only, it may be worth while to explain some of the deviations from the standard epigraphical indices.

Like modern trade-marks, the Roman brick-stamps abound in abbreviations which often are a mystery to the uninitiated. It is hoped that the numerous cross references, in which are listed all the abbreviations that could be catalogued, will make it easy to overcome this particular difficulty.

Throughout the indices the principle has been adhered to to give every item first in its most complete, and last in its least complete form. In the case of names, precedence is granted to those forms which contain all three (or more) elements of the name, even if each

of them is abbreviated. This is well illustrated by the treatment of the *vir consularis* T. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus, whose name occurs in not less than 26 different forms (p. 47). But the abbreviation T. S. M. S. H. takes the third place in the list; there follow all forms containing the praenomen, then those containing all three cognomina, etc. Breaking down each name into its various forms will save much time. It may also be of some interest to gain an insight into the different ways in which one name was represented on various documents.

In the *index cognominum*, the more frequent a cognomen is, the more care has been taken to differentiate its forms; a glance on names like Crescens, Fortunatus, Lucilla will confirm this. In the index of brick-yards (V), the principle of placing first the most complete form applies to the name, regardless of whether or not it is preceded by another word such as *figlinae* or *praedia*.

*Indices I-II.* In the first two indices, as it is customary, members of the senatorial order are printed in capitals. A new feature is the addition of references to the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (in the second edition) for the letters A-F, and to the *RE* for the remainder of the alphabet. Since both, the prosopography and the articles in the *RE*, are either by E. Groag († 1945) (senators) or by A. Stein (knights and emperors), it was not necessary to refer to the authors individually in each case. Through Professor Arthur Stein's kindness for which I wish to thank him here, I was enabled to add all references to *PIR* III<sup>2</sup>, which is not yet accessible in this country. It has been decided to introduce this aspect on account of the great importance of the brick-stamps for the prosopography of the Roman Empire. In the *index cognominum* the differentiation between members of the senate and other people causes a disadvantage, inasmuch as some names have to be listed twice, e.g., SEVERVS and Severus. This will occasionally necessitate double scrutiny. The names of the consuls which figure on brick-stamps for the purpose of dating have been included also in the first two indices although the fourth index is dedicated entirely to them. This will make the first two indices a check-list for index IV and, in addition, will help in the identification of fragmentary stamps.



*Index III.* The index of emperors consists of two parts. In the first section the emperors named on stamps are listed, the second contains the anonymous references to emperors in the order *Caes. n.*, *Aug. n.*, *dominus n.*, etc. Each reference is followed either by a letter or two letters in parenthesis (cf. the summary of abbreviations below), indicating as precisely as possible the emperor to whom the stamp may be attributed, or by a more general chronological indication. Those stamps of the "anonymous" group which could be more or less definitely assigned to an emperor appear also in the first part of the index, under the name to which they belong.

The new chronology of the stamps of Septimius Severus and Caracalla which was presented *BL* III 158-171 (290-303) has served as a basis for the pertinent parts of this index. Dressel's frequently faulty datings could not be taken into consideration.

To distinguish stamps in which imperial estates or brick-yards are named from those which come from imperial slaves and freedmen, the latter are included in pointed brackets ( *< >* ).

*Index IV.* In the list of consuls, in addition to the exact wording of each consular reference, the form of all stamps other than the usual form ☉ has been indicated. Perfectly circular stamps are followed by ○, rectangular stamps by □, impressed stamps by *l.c.* (= *litteris cavis*). The numerous stamps of 123 are arranged in such a way that those which start with Paetinus precede those starting with Apronianus. The principle of presenting the fullest form first is valid also here. The arrangement will explain itself.<sup>1</sup>

*Index V.* In the list of brick-yards and estates, an *officina* of the time of Diocletian bearing the same name as a brick-yard of the second century immediately follows the latter in the list.

*Index VI.* Under *Notabilia varia* the remaining smaller indices are assembled, all of which are of a more auxiliary character. They require no further elucidation, with the exception of the grammatical index. Dessau's corresponding index, *ILS* III 2, pp. 802-875, proved

<sup>1</sup> On the dating of Roman brick-stamps cf., besides *BL passim* and especially III 184-202 (316-334), A. Boëthius, *La datazione dei mattoni romani*, *Eranos* XXXIX (1941), 152-156, and Bloch, *CP* XXXIX (1944), 254-255.

to be particularly helpful. I also wish to express my thanks to Professor Joshua Whatmough for valuable advice.

To one problem attention may be called here. There exists a group of 14 stamps in which the indication of origin is not expressed as is usual by *ex* or *de* with the ablative, but by the accusative (cf. below pp. 11-12 and 101-102). The value of this group is enhanced by the fact that, with the exception of 134 (time of Marcus Aurelius) and 176 (last fourth of the second century), all other stamps belong to Septimius Severus or Caracalla.

- a. 193-198: 163. 323. 371? 426? 687?
- a. 198-211: 205. 238
- a. 203-205: 206
- a. 211-217: 164. 178. 237. 404

When, toward the end of the reign of Hadrian, it became customary to mention on brick-stamps the provenience both, from estate and brick-yard, it was usually done in the form: *ex praedis* . . . . ., *ex figlinis* . . . . .: cf., e.g., 171 *ex pr(aedis) Domitiae Lucillae*, *ex fig(linis) Domit(ianis) minorib(us)*, *op(us) dol(iare) Aeli Alexandri*. This form still occurs under Caracalla, e.g., 688: *opus doliare ex praedis d(omini) n(ostris) Antonini Aug.*, *ex figulinis Voconianis*. The following examples of this "style" are known to me: 133. 155. 161. 171. 179. 180. 182. 191-196. 201. 211-213. 225. 338. 354. 367. 380. 385. 398b. 399. 401. 406. 415. 430-432. 533. 541. 616. 621. 675. 685. 688. 41. 52 (occasionally *de* takes the place of *ex*).

In only five cases one of the two indications is given in the pure ablative (without *de* or *ex*): 156 *opus doliar. ex prd. d. n., fig. Domitiani(s)* (second half of the second century), 381 *opus doliare ex figulinis Oceanis minoribus, praedis d. n. Aug.* (Caracalla; very similar to 688 quoted above, certainly cut by the same man), 400 (Faus-tina), 429 *opus dol. de figul. Publinianis, predis Aemiliaes Severaes* (last fourth of the second century), 617 *ex pr. Lucillae Veri, figulinis Terentian., opu(s) L. S. F.* (middle of the second century).

The ablative may safely be assumed in the following group of similar stamps: 135. 139. 162. 297. 398 a. 403. 416. 422. 427. 428. 620. 43. 105 (cf. 398 a with 398 b, and 427-428 with 429 on one hand,



and with 430-432 on the other). All of these stamps seem to be of an earlier date than the group which has the curious accusative. However, this latter group is closely related in style, period, and origin (*all* of these stamps come from imperial brick-yards) to the 38 stamps assembled on p. 102, which are apparently ambiguous as to the case of the second indication. It is suggested therefore that in all these cases the accusative ought to be postulated. Cf., e.g., the following two contemporary stamps:

181 <i>op. dol. ex pr. Augg. nn., fig. Domit. min.,</i>	<i>Aemiliae Romanae</i>
205 <i>op. dol. ex pr. Augg. nn., fig. Novas,</i>	<i>Font (ei) Procli</i>
	<i>et Ingenua(e)</i>

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Dag Norberg (Uppsala) for his lucid explanation of this accusative which is reproduced below with his kind permission:

Beachtung verdient vielleicht der Umstand, dass der Akk. *figlin. Domitianas* usw. niemals steht, wenn *ex praedis* ohne Verkürzung ausgeschrieben ist. Dies möchte ich damit in Verbindung bringen, dass man in diesen Inschriften wie öfters die Kasusendungen assimiliert hat. Es heisst z. B. *ex predis d. n. et figlinis Veteres* 188, *ex figulinis Oceanis maioris* 372, aber *ex praedis d. n. et figl. Novis* 204. Die Ablativendung *-is* der 1. Deklination erscheint überhaupt gern mit der Akkusativendung *-es* (oder *-is*) der 3. Dekl. zusammen. Eine Verbindung wie *ex figlinis Veteres* kann man in Texten, die den Verfall der Kasusendungen zeigen, öfters finden, eine Verbindung wie *ex Veteribus figlinas* niemals, oder nur äusserst selten.

Ich möchte deshalb die Frage aufwerfen, ob der Akk. vom Typus *figlinas Domitianas maiores* dadurch eingedrungen ist, weil in den vorhergehenden Wörtern eine Ablativendung *-is* niemals ausgeschrieben worden ist. Die Arbeiter sagten wohl im 2. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert allgemein *ex figlinas* und *ex predia* (oder vielmehr *de figlinas* und *de predia*). Die volkssprachlichen Formen wurden aber nicht ohne weiteres in eine Inschrift aufgenommen. Man schrieb z. B. *ex predis et figlinis Veteres* (188), aber nicht *ex predis et figlinas*. Man schrieb auch z. B. *de pred. Aug. n., ex figulinas Veteres* (190), aber nicht *de predis . . . , ex figulinas*. Auf ähnliche Weise schrieb man z. B. *ex pr. Aug. n., fl. Domitianas maiores* (163), aber nicht *ex predis . . . , fl. Domitianas*.

Was die Syntax des Ausdruckes betrifft, dürfte wohl der Akk. *figlinas Domitianas maiores* usw. von der Präposition *ex* abhängig sein. Die Präposition wird ja öfters vor einem zweiten Glied nicht wiederholt. Schmalz und Hofmann führen, *Lateinische Grammatik* (München 1928<sup>5</sup>), S. 495 an, Varro rust. 1, 7, 7 *sunt quae non possunt vivere nisi in loco aquoso aut*

*etiam aqua*. Etwas andersartige Beispiele geben z. B. J. Martin, *Commodiana* (Wien 1917), S. 64, Löfstedt, *Arnobiana* (Lund 1917), S. 89, ders., *Zur Sprache Tertullians* (Lund 1920), S. 61. Obgleich die Erscheinung nicht hinlänglich untersucht worden ist, dürfte man sagen können, dass der Ausdruck *ex pr. Aug. n., figlinas Domitianas* (sc. *ex figlinas Domitianas*) syntaktisch erklärbar ist. Dagegen ist wohl ein blosser Akk. *figlinas Domitianas* als Herkunftsbezeichnung ganz unerklärlich. Ich meine also, dass der Ausdruck nicht einen *accusativus pro ablativo* zeigt, sondern einen *acc. pro abl. post praepositionem*.

For the increased use of the accusative in place of other cases in vulgar Latin cf. Schmalz and Hofmann, *op. cit.*, p. 494 (*ex cum acc.* p. 530) and D. Norberg, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, p. 32 (*Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift* 1943, no. 9).

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Up until 1892 the world believed that the Pantheon was a monument erected by Agrippa and dedicated in 27 B.C. as the inscription on the epistyle of the pronaos indicated. In that year brick-stamps were discovered first in the cupola, and subsequently throughout all vital parts of the structure, which demonstrated beyond doubt that the entire building was to be dated 150 years later, under Hadrian. This striking example of the value of brick-stamps as documents for dating, to which many other similar discoveries have been added, should serve as a challenge to excavators to pay especial attention to brick-stamps, however fragmentary they may be. It is hoped that the indices will make this easily possible. Finally, I wish to say that I shall appreciate receiving any new information which bears on the subject of brick-stamps.

## SUMMARY OF SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

The bold-faced numbers refer to the Supplement; they always follow the numbers of *CIL* XV 1.

- \*        An asterisk which precedes a number or a word indicates that this stamp is defective or the word restored by conjecture.  
An asterisk which follows a number indicates that the stamp thus marked is highly suspect.
- †        A cross preceding a name indicates that the person was a Christian.
- [ ]       (in index II) A number included in square brackets indicates that it occurs also in index I.
- < >       (in index III) A number included in pointed brackets refers to imperial slaves and freedmen.
- (in index IV) Rectangular stamp.
- (in index IV) Circular stamp.  
N.B. In index IV it is understood that a stamp has the usual form ⊙, when no shape is indicated.
- (A)       (in index III) Antoninus (Caracalla).  
add.       refers to the Addenda which precede the indices.  
or add.
- BC        *Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale del Governatorato di Roma.*
- BL        H. Bloch, *I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana*, BC LXIV-LXVI (1936-1938) (=I-III). The page numbers of the separate edition are added in parenthesis.
- (C)       (in index III) Commodus.
- (CIL)     Volumes of the *CIL* are referred to by the number of the volume only.
- (H), (HP) (in index III) Hadrian; Hadrian and Pius.
- ILS       H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*.
- l. c.*       (= *litteris cavis*) (in index IV) Impressed stamps.
- (M)       (in index III) Marcus Aurelius.
- (MV)      (in index III) Marcus Aurelius and Verus (a. 161-169).
- (P)       (in index III) Pius.

- PIR I-III* *Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Editio altera*, ed. E. Groag et A. Stein, vol. I (A-B), 1933, vol. II (C), 1936, vol. III (D-F), 1943.\*
- PIR III*<sup>1</sup> Refers to the third volume of the first edition of this work. (1898).
- RE* Articles in the *Real-Enzyklopädie* referred to without the name of the author are either by E. Groag or A. Stein.
- s. II*<sup>2</sup> Second half of the second century.
- (*S*) (in index III) Septimius Severus (primarily in the years 193-198).
- (*SA*) (in index III) Septimius Severus and Antoninus (a. 198-211).
- (*SAG*) (in index III) Septimius Severus, Antoninus, and Geta (a. 209-211).
- (*T*) (in index III) Trajan.
- (*T, H*) (in index III) Trajan or Hadrian.

\* In correction to my statement in the Supplement p. 7, it must be said that the continuation of *PIR*<sup>2</sup> was not altogether suspended together with the editors Groag and Stein, whose mastery in this field is unsurpassed and undisputed, but the Berlin Academy decided at the same time to continue the work only in an abbreviated form. It is now learnt that this decision of 1943 has been reversed; and Professor Stein re-instated as editor of this great undertaking.

## NOMINA VIRORUM ET MULIERUM

- C. A. 2361  
 Q. A. . . . **33**  
 L. A. A. 1433  
 P. A. A., P. A. Alex. v. P. Aelius  
 Alexander  
 S. A. A. v. Sex. Alfius Amandus  
 C. A. Apoll. 2304  
 Q. A. C., A. C. v. Q. ABVRNIVS  
 CAEDICIANVS  
 T. A. C. v. T. Am. Cip.  
 M. A. F. v. M. A(nnius) F.  
 A. F. v. ARRIA FADILLA  
 C. A. H. 2327  
 L. A. L. v. L. Aemilius Lenaeus  
 A. M. 2362  
 D. A. M. XIV S I, 5308, 5  
 Q. A. M., Q. A. Mar., Q. A. Marc.  
 v. Q. ASINIVS MAR-  
 CELLVS  
 L. A. P. 1157  
 Q. A. P. = Q. ARTICVLEIVS  
 PAETINVS, *cos. a. 123, v.*  
*ind. IV*  
 A. Poll. v. C. ASINIVS POL-  
 LIO  
 M. A. Pro. (v. M. Aemilius Pro-  
 culus?) 1056 (*cf. 279*). 1057  
 (M. A. Pr.)  
 A. Q. v. Atilia Quintilla  
 Q. A. S. (?) **42**  
 T. A. Seren(us) *vel* Serenus 775  
 M. A. Surus (*vel* Masurus?) 776  
 M. A. V., M. A. Ve., M. A. Verus  
 v. M. ANNIVS VERVS  
 M. A. Z. v. M. Annius Zosimus  
 Q. ABVRNIVS CAEDICIANVS,  
*leg. Aug. (pr. pr. prov. Da-*  
*ciae sub Hadriano; cf. PIR*  
*I 3 n. 21; A. Stein, Die*  
*Reichsbeamten von Dazien,*  
*Budapest, 1944, 20)*  
 228. 229 a. 230. **184** (*cf. 229*  
 b)add. **185**  
 Q. Aburnius Cae . . . **186**  
 Q. Abu. Cae. 227  
 Q. Ab. Caed. 607. **179**  
 Q. A. C. **182. 183**  
 Aburnius Caedicianus 232.  
 604 (=171). **187** (*cf. 2036*)  
 Aburnius Cae. 603 (=169)  
 Aburn. Caedic. 231  
 Aburn. Caeb. (*sic*) **181 a**  
 Abur. Caedicianus 605  
 (=178)  
 Abur. Caed. **172. 173. 181 b**  
 (Caeb.)  
 Abur. Cae. 608 (=170)  
 Ab. Caed. **176** (*cf. 614*)  
 Ab. Cae. **175. 177** (*cf. 234*)  
 (Ce.)  
 Ab. C. **180**, A. C. 233  
 Q. Aburnius Celer 290  
 Ab(urnius) G. 608 (=170)  
 Acili(us) Fortun(atus) 1310  
 \* Acili(a) Mallio[la] (?) 2225  
 C. Ae. . . . 1867  
 Aegn- v. Egn-  
 Aelii, *immo verius Atellii v. infra*  
 L. AELIVS v. *ind. III*  
 L. Aelius Alexander 558. **158**  
 P. Aelius Alexsander 717  
 P. Ael. Alex. **54**  
 P. A. Alex. 172  
 P. A. A. 93

- Aelius Alexander 171  
 Aelius Alexsad. 173  
 Aelius Antimachus 778  
 L. Aelius April(is) 626  
 C. Aelius Asclep(iades) 385  
 Aelius Asclepi. 398  
 L. AELIVS CAESAR *v. ind. III*  
 P. Aelius Demetrius 217  
 Aelius Diphilus 1138. 1869  
 Aelius Euphemus 537 (Euphe.  
 537 a)  
 Aelius Felix 324 (Ael.). 624  
 L. Aelius Phidelis 625. 628  
 L. Ael. Phidel. **190** (*cf.*  
 1947)  
 L. Aelius Sabinianus 753  
 L. Aelii II Secund. et April(is)  
 626  
 Aelius Silva(nus) 570. **160**  
 (Sil.)  
 L. Aelius Victor 629  
 Ae[lius V]ictor 627  
 AELIA PAETINA *v. ind. II*  
 Aelia Severa 256  
 P. Aemilius Abdas 779  
 Aeme(ilius?) Ingenuus **425**  
 L. Aemil(ius) Iulianus 2160  
 L. Aemilius Linaeus = L. A. L.  
 2161  
 M. Aemilius Proculus (*v. M. A.*  
*Pr.?*) 780 (Proclus 780 b,  
 Proc. 780 d)  
 M. Aemilius Rufio 781  
 Aemilius Successus 546  
 Aemilia Romana 174. 181  
 AEMILIA SEVERA, c(laris-  
 sima) f(emina) (*cf. PIR I*  
*72 n. 428*) 427. 428. 432  
 (Sever.)  
 Aemilia Severa 429. 433  
 Aem. Seve. 430. \*431  
 L. Agillius Sabinus 782  
 L. Agrius Spendo 783  
 Agria Eutychia 784  
 Al. Proc. *v. Allienus Proclus*  
 C. Albani(us) *vel* C. Albanus 785  
 Sex. Albat(ius) (?) Martiali(s)  
**412**  
 Sex. Alfius Amand(us) 98. 111  
 Sex. Alf. Am. 99  
 S. A. A. 104  
 M. Alfius Crescens 788  
 . . Alf. Crescen[s] **467**  
 L. Alfius Primigenius 789  
 L. Alfius Ruf. . . . **218**  
 M. Alfius Secundus 2416  
 L. Allidius 2378  
 M.' Allienus Charito 790. \* 791  
 Allienus Proclus 143  
 Al. Proc. 2157 (*sed. v. C.*  
 Allius Proclus)  
 C. Allius 2305  
 M. Allius Clemens 989  
 Sex. Allius Fortunatus 923; *no-*  
*men et cognomen erasa* 922  
 (*cf. 250*)  
 L. Allius Maximus (*cf. PIR I 92*  
*n. 547*) 792  
 T. Allius Primigenius 522  
 C. Allius Proclus 793  
 L. Allius Rufus 652  
 Allius Rufus 653  
 T. Am. Cip. 89  
 T. A. C. 88  
 Q. Am. For. 794  
 An. *vel* An( . . . . ianus) 418  
 An. *v. Anin., Annius*  
 Anc. Priscus 48  
 Ancar(ius) Anice(tus) 547  
 Anin. Ca. L. f. (?) 571  
 Anin. 572  
 An. 573. 574  
 Ann. XIV S I, 5308, 6  
 Sext. Annius **588**  
 Sex. Annius Aphrodisius 795



- APPIVS ANNIVS BRADVA v.  
 APPIVS BRADVA  
 Annius Cer. **113**  
 Annius Decemb(er) 512  
 Ann. Dec. 513  
 [L.] Annius Del[us] 2396  
 M. A(nnius) F. **116** (cf. 1870)  
 L. Annius Fetalis (cf. *PIR I* 109  
 n. 646) 796  
 C. Annius Flamma 797 = (*ante*  
*manumissionem*) Flamma  
 Anniae Ares(cusae) v. *ind.*  
*II*  
 M. Ann(ius) Hermes 799  
 L. ANNIVS LARGVS, *cos. a.*  
*147, v. ind. IV*  
 (M.) ANNIVS LIBO, *cos. a. 128*  
*(cf. PIR I 113 n. 667)* 512.  
 513. 514 (Lib.)  
 An. Lib. **146**  
 M. Annius Onesim(us) **219**  
 . . [An]nius Plocamus (cf. *PIR I*  
*115 n. 676*) 798  
 Annius Sabi. . . . **413** (*immo*  
*809 a?*)  
 P. Annius Septimus II [vir]  
*Praeneste* 2291  
 M. Annius Thoas **220**  
 T. Annius Ti. . . . \* 2386  
 M. ANNIVS VERVS, *cos. II a.*  
*121, cos. III a. 126 (cf.*  
*PIR I 118 n. 695; v. etiam*  
*ind. IV)* 478  
 M. An. Ver. 453  
 M. A. Verus 807  
 M. A. Ve. 806 d  
 M. A. V. 245. 480. **115. 222**  
 Annius Verus 454. 479 a.  
 806 a et b. 808  
 Ann. Verus 455. 806 c. 1875.  
**120**  
 Ann. Ver. 246. 479 b. 799  
 An. Ver. 481. 800. 802. 805.  
**121** (cf. 1809)  
 An. Ve. **221**  
 Annius Zabdas 809 (cf. **413?**)  
 M. A(nnius) Z(osimus) 247  
 Annius Zos. 245  
 An. Zos. 246  
 = (*ante manumissionem*)  
 Zosimus M. A(nni) V(eri)  
 v. *ind. II*  
 Annia Arescusa 2226. 2541  
 Annia Ares. 1141  
 ANNIA (CORNIFICIA)  
 FAVSTINA, *soror imp.*  
*Marci, v. ind. III*  
 (ANNIA) FVNDANIA  
 FAVSTINA v. FVNDAN-  
 NIA FAVSTINA  
 Antistius 2534  
 Antoni[us] *vel* Antoni[i] 2229  
 Ant(onius) L. 824  
 Antonius M. **446** (cf. 2227)  
 Anton. M. **447** (cf. 2228)  
 M. Antonius Epaphra 815. 2542  
 Antonius Felix **223**  
 L. Antonius Felix **224**  
 M. Antonius Felix (cf. *PIR I*  
*158 n. 828*) **225**  
 M. Anto. Fel. 2543  
 M. Ant. Felix **468**  
 M. Antonius Fortunatus 816  
 M. Antonius Hilarus 817  
 L. Antonius Mario 818. 819.  
 \* 1877?  
 L. Antonius Protus 820  
 L. Antonius Symfilon 821  
 M. Antonius Sobarus 2306  
 Antonius Subarus 2307  
 Antonia Malliola 281 (cf. **62**)  
 Antonia Manlio. **63**  
 Antonia Manl. 822  
 Anton. Manliola **64**  
 Sex. Anuf. Iub. 823. \* **226**

- Sex. Ap. Silv. v. Sex. Aprius Sil-  
vinus
- Q. Aponius Martinus 825
- Appius Benerius **311**
- APPIVS BRADVA, *idem ut  
videtur atque* Appius An-  
nius Atilius Bradua, *cos. a.*  
160, *sed cf. PIR I* 183 n.  
947, 108 n. 636 826
- Appi. Bra. **228**
- C. Appius Quinquatralis 1502
- Appius Quinquatral. 1500  
(Quinqu.). 1501 (*cf. 393*)
- Stab. Appius 2402
- Appia Pyramis 854. **191**
- Sex. Aprius Silvinus 731 a
- Sex. Ap. Silv. 731 b
- Aqui . . . . 2213 (*nisi potius cog-  
nomen est*)
- Aquillius 631. **196**
- C. Aquilius Aprilis 359. 361. 362
- C. Aquilius Aprili. 358
- C. Aquil. Apr. 360
- L. Aquilius Faustus 828
- P. Aquilius Gallus II vir Prae-  
neste 2292
- Q. AQVILIVS NIGER, *cos. a.*  
117, v. *ind. IV*
- Aquilia Sozomen(a) 709 a
- Aquilia Zosomen(a) 709 b
- Ar. Aug. v. Arist(ius) Aug.
- Ar. F., Ar. Fa. v. ARRIA  
FADILLA
- L. \*Aricinius (*vel potius*) Arulenus  
Chrestus 2379
- L. Aristaeus Restitutus **509**
- Arist(ius) Aug. 733
- Ar. Aug. 734
- Aristius Celer 834
- M. Aristius Euscemus **229**
- A. Aristius Menander 829-833.  
\* **230**
- duo Aristii Strabo et Celer 834
- Aristius Success. 735
- A. Aristius Thallus 1365
- A. Arist. Thall. 1363
- Aris. Thal. 732 (Tha.). 1364
- \*Aristius P. f. \*Ufane 2230
- M. Aristius Vitalis 835
- Caes(t.) Arminius 483. \* **122**
- Arminius C. . . . **123** (*cf.*  
1810)
- Arm. Cest. 482 a-d
- Arm. Ces. 482 e-f, Ces.  
Arm. 484
- ARRIVS ANTONINVS = FVL-  
(VVS) ANT(ONINVS) =  
ANTONINVS, *postea* IMP.  
ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS  
v. *ind. III*
- M. Arrius Diogen(es) **231**
- M. Arrius Rufio 836. 837
- Arria. . . . (*fortasse eadem  
quae sequitur*) **233**
- Arria Caesennia Paulin(a) (*cf.*  
*PIR I* 219 no. 1118) 838.  
**232. 233** (?)
- ARRIA FADILLA, *mater Ar-  
rii Antonini qui postea im-  
peravit* (*cf. PIR I* 219 n.  
1119) 72. 81. 83. 87. 91. **28**
- Arria Fad. 73. **25**
- Arria F. . . . **26**
- Ari. Fadilla 78
- Arri. Fadil. 74
- Arr. Fadill. 82
- Arr. Fadil. 71. 90 b (*cf. 31*)
- Arr. Fad. 69. 76. 77. 88. 90 a  
(*cf. 30*). **29. 32.**
- Ar. Fad. 84
- Ar. Fa. 70. 85. 89, Ar. F. **33**
- A. F. 86
- L. Arruntius **234**
- (ARRVNTIVS) CAMILLVS,  
*idem ut videtur atque* L.  
Arruntius Camillus Scribo-



- nianus, *cos. a. 32* (cf. *PIR I* 226 n. 1140) 112. 113 (Cam. 113 b). 114
- L. Arruntius Philoxenus 839
- ARRVNTIA CAMILLA CAMILLI F(ILIA), *filia ut videtur consulis a. 32* (v. *supra*) (cf. *PIR I* 228 n. 1152) 112
- Arruntia Camil. Camilli f. 114
- Arruntia Camilli f. 113 a
- Arruntia Cam. f. 113 b
- Arruntia Camilla 40
- Q. Articuleius Aepagatus 841
- Q. ARTICVLEIVS PAETINVS, *cos. a. 123, v. ind. IV*
- Q. ARTICVLEIVS PAETVS, *cos. a. 101* (cf. *PIR I* 236 n. 1177) 842. 843 (Artic.). 844 (Artculei)
- L. \*Arulenus (*vel.* Aricinius?)
- Chrestus 2379
- Arul(enus) Epagath(us) 9
- As. Best. . . . (?) 406
- Q. ASINIVS MARCELLVS, *cos. suff. anno incerto* (cf. *PIR I* 250 n. 1236, 1235) 847. 853. 854. 856. 238
- Q. Asinius Marcel. 846. 855 (Margel.). 236 (Marc.)
- Q. A. Marc . . . 235
- Q. A. Mar. 848
- Q. A. M. 330. 849. 850\*. 852. 237 (cf. 851)
- Asinius Marcellus 857
- C. AS(INIVS) POL(LIO), *cos. ut videtur a. 23* (cf. *PIR I* 253 n. 1242) 2234
- Asinius Poll. 2232
- Asin. Poll. 2231 a
- Asin. Pol. 2231 b. 2233
- A. Poll. 2231 c
- Asinia Marcelli. (cf. *PIR I* 257 n. 1259) 858 (Marcell.) 239 (cf. 859)
- Asinia Quadratilla, *filia ut videtur Q. Asini Marcelli* (cf. *PIR I* 257 n. 1260) 861. 863 (Quadratill.)
- Asin. Quad. 860
- Q. At. 2308
- C. Atteius (*sic*) Filtatus 2309
- C. Ateius Phil. 2310
- Atellii 583 (cf. 660). 584
- Aterius Car. 91. \*352?
- C. Atilius Fortunatus 867
- Sex. Atilius Fortunatus 868. 869. 469
- T. ATILIVS TITIANVS, *cos. a. 127, v. ind. IV*
- Atilia Quintilla 871
- Atil. Quint. 872
- A. Q. 870
- Atinius 873
- L. Atinius 874; *alius*: 1091?
- L. Atinius L. M. l(ibertus) Aste. 332
- = L. Atinius \*333. 86
- L. Atin. R. . . . \*1887
- C. Atisius Sabinus X 2, 8048, 2
- Atius 2235
- Atius Chi. 1350
- A. Atius Diphil(us) (?) 2238. 2239
- M. Atius Eros 2236. 2237 (?)
- Atteius v. Ateius
- L. Attius Charito 451
- A. Attius Cr. 448
- A. Attius Hilarus 2240
- Av. Em. v. Sex. Avillius Em.
- C. Aufd. (*sic*) 875
- C. Aufdienus Fortunatus 876
- Aufidia Restituta 1455
- AVIDIVS QVIETVS, *cos. suff. a.*

- III (cf. *supra* 460) 460 (cf. 2397)  
 Avienus Halys *vel* Hality. 339  
 Sex. Avillius Em. 282  
 Av. Em. 65 (cf. 2074)  
 Avia M. . . . \*1888  
 L. AVRELIVS *v. ind.* III (L. VERVS)  
 P. Aurelius Abascantus 877  
 Aurelius Abasc. . . . 878  
 L. AVRELIVS COMMODVS *v. ind.* III *et* IV (*cos. a. 154?*)  
 Aur(elius) Felicissim(us) 879.  
 880 (Fel.)  
 T. Aur(elius) Io *vel* Taurio 521  
 Aur. Lic. Max. Osc. 881  
 M. Aurelius Maximinus XIV S I,  
 5308, 8  
 Aurelius Rufus 882  
 L. Aurel(ius) Thall(us) 327  
 Aur. Thall. 326 (cf. 575)  
 Aur(elia) Antonia 415  
 Autr(onius) Fort(unatus) 959  
 C. Autronius Sotada 991  
 L. Autronius Xanthus 470  
 P. B. Chr. *v.* P. Betilienus Chresimus  
 C. B. P. = C. B(RVTTIVS) P(RAESENS), *cos. II a. 139, v. ind. IV*  
 L. B. S. *v.* L. BELLICIVS SOLLERS  
 Babur(ius) Q. 840  
 Baebi-  
 C. Bebius Primus 885  
 Bar. . . (*nisi cognomen est*) 1889  
 M. Barbatius Epaphra 883  
 Q. Basilius Minna 884  
 Bebius *v.* Baebi-  
 Bel. Ber. Ap(pius)? 886  
 L. BELLICIVS SOLLERS, *cos. suff. a. inc. Traiani ut videtur* (cf. *PIR I* 362 n. 103) 887 a  
 L. Vellicius Sollers 887 b.  
 887 c (Soll.). 241 (Velicius)  
 L. B. S. 888  
 Vellicius These(us) 1148  
 C. Bellicius Zmaragdus 2418  
 Ber. Ap(pius) 886  
 P. Betilienus Chresimus 2312. 2294  
 (Bet.), P. B. Chr. 2296  
 T. Betuedius Fortunatus 890  
 C. Biculeius Priscus 2380  
 Bism. Suc. *v.* Vismatius Successus  
 C. Br. P., C. Brit. Pr. *v.* C. BRVTTIVS PRAESENS  
 L. Br(i?)ttidius Augustinus (?) 724  
 Brittidius Priscinus 133  
 Brittius *v.* BRVTTIVS  
 C. Brotius Philocalus 2398  
 Brttidius (*sic*) *v.* Br(i?)ttidius  
 Bru. Bas(sus) 94  
 L. Bruttidius Augustalis 373. 374.  
 375. 376. 377 a. b. 378. 379. 94  
 L. Bruttidius Augutalis 377 c (cf. 95)  
 C. BRVTTIVS PRAESENS, *cos. II a. 139* (cf. *PIR I* 371 n. 164) 331 C. Brit. Pr., C. Br. P., C. B. P., Brittius, Br(u)ttius *v. ind. IV* (*a. 139 et 153*)  
 C. C( ) *vel* C( ) C( ) 891  
 L. C. 256  
 C. Albanus 785  
 C. Asper *vel* Aspr(enas) 785. 864. 865 (?)  
 C( ) C( ) *vel* C. C( ) 891  
 C. C. C. *vel* C. C. Cosanus *v.* C. Curiatius Cosanus

- M. C. C. [= M. C(lodius) C(le-  
mens)?] 939  
A. C. F. (?) 2359  
C. C. H. 892  
L. C. Iuven. 515 (Iuve. 515 b)  
L. C. L. *vel* L. Clod(ius) Phil.  
1466  
C. C. Lon. 2242  
S. C. P. R. 2360  
Q. C. Pec. 91  
C. C. Primig[e(nius)] 514  
C. C. Ruf. = C. C(VSPIVS)  
RVF(INVS), *cos. a. 142, v.*  
*ind. IV*  
C. S. v. CORNELIVS  
SEVERVS  
L. C. S. 38  
S. C. T. 2367  
Ca. L. f(ecit) (?) 571  
P. Caecilius Antioch(us) 894  
C. Caecilius Bathyllus 457 (*cf.*  
2381)  
M. Caecilius M. f. Hispanus 895  
M. Caecilius Hispa. . . 242  
C. Caecilius Peculiaris 2382  
C. Caecilius Potamo 2162  
Sex. Caecilius Proces. 2313 a  
(*cf.* 2375 . . . aecil. . . )  
Sex. Caec. Proc. 2313 b  
L. Caecilius Proclus 471  
Caecilia Amanda 193. 194  
Caecil. Amanda 195. 196  
Caec. Amanda 192  
Caecilia Exoche 2383  
(Exsoce). 458  
Caecil(ia) Quinta 575  
Caec. Quint. 576  
(M.) CAELIVS IVLIANVS, c(la-  
rissimus) v(ir) (*cf.* PIR II  
26 n. 135) 475  
M. Caenius Salvitto 2419  
A. Caesennius Eutyclus, *libertus*  
*ut videtur A. Caesenni Galli,*  
*consulis suffecti sub Vespas-*  
*siano (cf. PIR II 32 n. 170)*  
**414. 415**  
Caesennia v. Arria Caesennia  
Paulina  
Caet. Mag(nio) 568  
Cet. Magnio 1203 (*nisi le-*  
*gendum est facit* Magnio)  
Cet. Magn. 942  
= Magnio 943. 944  
Caitenius Mon(tanus) 1377  
Caetennia Chione 342  
Caetenn. Chione 341  
C. Cal. . . . v. C. Cal[(petanus)]  
. . . .  
Cal. Crescens v. Calvius Cres-  
cens  
C. Cal. Cre. v. C. Calpetanus  
Crescens  
C. \*Cal. \*Er. 2420  
C. Cal. Favor v. C. Calpetanus  
Favor  
Cal. Liberal(is) 282 (*cf.*  
1092)  
Cal. Maxm. v. Calventia Ma-  
xima  
M. Cal. Phronim. v. M. Calpur-  
nius Phronimus  
Cal. Primit(ivus) 10  
Cal. Syn. 1427  
Calidii 897  
Calpetani *videntur fuisse libertini*  
*e domo C. Calpetani Rantii*  
*Sedati Metronii, consulis*  
*suff. a. inc., fortasse ante a.*  
*45 (cf. PIR II 46 n. 235)*  
[C.] Calpetanus 472  
C. Cal[(petanus)] . . . 52  
Calpetanus 75. 76  
*Idem fortasse:*  
C. Calpetanus Auctus (v.  
*infra*)

- Calp(etanus) *vel* Glypt(us)  
 Calp(etanus) 517
- C. Calpetanus Achoristus 899
- C. Calpetanus Auctus 302. 72<sup>add.</sup>  
 73 (*cf.* 471 A)  
*idem fortasse:*  
 C. Calpetanus 472  
 Calpetanus 75. 76  
 Auctus 74
- Calpetanus Berna *v.* Calpetanus Verna
- C. Calpetan(us) Crescens 243  
 (=473) (*cf.* 901)  
 C. Cal. Cre. 900  
 = (*ante manumissionem*)  
 C. Calpetani Favoris *v. ind.*  
*II. Ab hoc diversus est (vel diversi sunt):*  
 Calpeta(nus) Crescens 218  
 (Calpet.). 725  
 Calpe. Cres. 1144
- C. Calp. Fa. 960
- C. Calpetanus Favor (*diversus ab eo qui sequitur*) 2545
- C. Calpetanus Favor 314. 315.  
 316. 317\*. \*2421  
 C. Calpetanus Faor 902\*. 904 b. c  
 C. Calpeta. Favor 904 a. 244  
 C. Calpet. Favor 904 e  
 C. Calp. Favor 903 (*cf.* 589). 904 d (Faor). 905. \*2422 b.  
 C. Cal. Favor 312. 313. 904 f  
 C. Cal. Faor \*2423. 474  
 Cal. Favor 2422 a
- Calp(etanus) Fortunat(us)  
 219. *Ab hoc diversus est:*
- C. Calpetanus Fortunatus 906
- Glypt(us) Calp(etanus) *vel*  
 Glypt(us) Calp(etani) 517  
 (*v. supra*)
- C. Calpetanus Hermes 318. 319.  
 320 (*cf.* 84). 321  
 = (*ante manumissionem*)  
 Hermes C. Calpetani Favoris *v. ind. II*
- C. Calpetan(us) Ianuarius 2424
- C. Calpeta[nus] Livianus 475.  
 476 (*cf. PIR II 47 n. 236*)
- C. Calp(etanus) Mnester 707.  
 708  
 = (*ante manumissionem*)  
 Mnester C. Calp(etani) Favoris *v. ind. II*
- C. Calpetanus Musophilus 907
- C. Calpetanus Pannycus 746
- C. Calpetanus Restitutus 908  
 Calpetanus Verna 221 a  
 Calpetan. Berna 221 b  
 Calp. Verna 220
- Calpurni(us) *vel* Calpurni(a) 245
- Q. Calpurnius Agathemerus 909
- L. Calpurnius Cladus 246
- L. Calpurnius Eros 2489. 2490
- M. Calpurnius Phronimus 910  
 a. b  
 M. Calpur. Ph. . . . 910 c  
 M. Cal. Phronim. 247  
*idem fortasse:*  
 . . . . . ius . . ronimus  
 \*2083
- L. Calpurnius Servandus 248
- C. Calpurnius Spatalus 609  
 CALPVRNIA Corvini (*uxor*).  
 (*Maritus scilicet* M. Valerius M. f. Messalla Corvinus, *cos. a. 31 vel 58; cf. PIR II 77 n. 322*) 249
- Calpurnia Secunda 610. 611
- Calvent(ia) Maxima 214. 215\*.  
 Calventia Maximin(a) 216  
 Cal(ventia) Max(i)m(a) *vel*  
 Max(i)m(ina) 325
- Calvisii *videntur fuisse libertini e*

- domo C. Calvisi Sabini, consulis a. 26 (PIR II 85 n. 354)
- C. Calvisius Amarantus 911 (Amar. 911 d)  
= C. Amarantus 912
- C. Calvisius Ant(er)os XIV S I, 5308, 11
- C. Calvisius Dioni(sius) 912
- C. Calvisius Primus 667. 668
- C. Galvisius Mnester 555  
= KAΛBEICEI (*gen.*) 555
- P. CALVISIVS TVLLVS RVSO, *cos. I a. 109, cos. II a. inc., pater Domitiae P. f. Lucillae (cf. PIR II 87 n. 357) v. infra*
- Calvius Crescens 175. 201 (Calxius). 726. 727 (Cal.)
- C. Calvius Fidens 2163
- Calxius Crescens v. Calvius Crescens
- T. Cam. Narcis(sus) 1451
- T. Camidie(nus) Atimet(us) 695  
T. Canedienus Atimetus 696  
Titus Camudenus Atimetus 697
- L. Canuleius Maenal(us) 669  
Canuleia Crispina 670 a. b (Crisppina). \*c  
Canul. Crisp. \*671
- Q. CANVSIVS PRAENESTINVS, *cos. suff. a. 156 vel a. 157 ut videtur (cf. PIR II 96 n. 402) 913*
- C. Capr. (?) 865
- Cas. v. Cassia
- C. Casinius Numidian(us) 435
- C. Cassipontius 915 a  
C. Casipontius 915 b  
(*nisi potius legendum est C.*
- Cassi (*vel* Casi), Pontius fecit)
- Cass(ii) v. L. et P. Cassii
- Cassius 416
- C. Cassius *vel* Casius 915 (?) v. C. Cassipontius
- L. et P. Cassii 283  
L. P. Cassii 66  
Cass(ii) 284  
P. Cassius 67 (*cf. 1778*)
- M. CASSIVS APRONIANVS, *cos. suff. a. inc. sub Marco vel Commodo (cf. PIR II 113 n. 485) 2164 (bis)*
- P. Cassius Cae. . . . 68
- Q. Cass(ius) Caecil(ianus) 517
- C. Cassius Corn[elianus] 916
- M. Cassius Sabinus 2315
- C. Cassius Secund(us) 917  
Cas(sius) Secund. 328
- C. Cassius C. f. Vet(us) 22  
Cassia Doris 75  
Cas. Doris 74. 73 (Dor.)
- Sex. Castricius Hebenus 2425  
Sex. Castricius Salvius 477 a  
Sex. Castr(i)cus Sal. 477 b  
Castricius Staius 918
- Cattius Sabinus XIV S I, 5308, 41
- P. Caulius Valens 2197. 2198  
P. Caulius Valens iun(ior) 2199
- Ce. Thes(eus) (?) 390
- Ceion(ius) C. 1355 (= 477 A)  
(L.) CEIONIVS (COMMODVS), *cos. a. 136, postea L. AELIVS CAESAR v. ind. III et IV*
- L. CEIO(NIVS) COM(MODVS) C(AESARIS) F(I-LIVS), *cos. I a. 154, postea IMP. L. VERVS v. ind. III et IV*
- Ceion(ius) Cresc(ens) 243



- M. Cercinius Fructus 922 (*cf.* 250).  
923
- C. Cesenus Clemen(s) 285
- T. Cest(ius) Severus (*cf.* PIR II  
154 n. 696) 2426
- Cet. Magnio v. Caet. Magnio
- Cl., Cla. v. Claudius
- Ti. Cl(audius) Aga. 925  
Claudius Alexander 2165. 417
- L. Cl. Beryll(us) 118
- Ti. Claudius Blastus, (*fortasse  
filius Ti. Claudi Blasti*, PIR  
II 185 n. 817) 577 a. 579.  
161 ([Clau]d.)  
Ti. Cla. Bla. 578 a  
Ti. Cl. Bl. 577 b. 578 b
- Ti. Cl(audius) Celsus 392  
Claudius Celsus 393  
Cl. Celsus 394 (*cf.* 97). 395.  
98
- Ti. Cl(audius) Censorin(us)  
2316
- P. Cl. Ch. \*326
- Ti. Claudius Communis 926  
Cl. Cre(scens) 1430  
Cl. Felix 2414  
Claudius Fortunatus 209  
Claud. Fortu. 210  
Cl. Fortunat. 2203<sup>add.</sup>  
Cl. Fron(t.) 530
- Ti. Claudius Gemellus 927
- Ti. Claudius Gobathus 928 (Go-  
batus 928 b). 929  
Cla. Gob. 251. 252
- Ti. Claudius Hermeros 930 a-d  
Ti. Cla. Herme. 930 e  
Claudius Herodotus 580 a  
Cl. Her. 580 b. c
- Ti. Claud(ius) Hilar(us) 328  
Ti. Cl. Hilarus 1230  
Cl(audius) Ionicus Caesaris  
Augusti l(ibertus) 814
- Ti. Claudius Irenaeus 704
- Clau(dius) Iull(us) 931
- Cl(audius) Livianus = Ti. Iu-  
lius Aquilinus Castricius  
Saturninus Claudius Livia-  
nus, *praefectus praetorio*  
(*cf.* PIR II 211 n. 913)  
932<sup>add.</sup> 2317  
Cl. Lib. 559
- Ti. Claudius Maximus, *pater ut  
videtur Ti. Claudi Maximi,  
consulis suff. a. inc. ante a.  
150 (cf. PIR II 217 n. 933)*  
248 (Claud.). 254. 255. 56.  
57 (Maxim.)  
Claudius Maximus \*251.  
252. 253 (Maximus 253 b)  
Cl. Max. 249 (*cf.* 55). 250  
Cl. One(simus) (?) 2217
- Ti. Claudius Onesimus 1503
- Ti. Claudius Periander 2427
- Ti. Claudius Aug(usti) l(ibertus)  
Potiscus 2399  
Ti. Cla. Potiscus 461  
= Potiscus Aug. l. 2400
- Ti. Claud(ius) Quartus 2394
- Ti. Claud(ius) Quinquat(ralis)  
1077 b  
Ti. Cl. Quinquat. 1069. 1077  
a (*cf.* 281)  
Claudius Quinqua. 1075 a.  
1076  
Claudius Quinqu. 1070  
Claud. Quinoatr. (*sic*)  
1075 b  
Cl. Quin. 1072. 1073. 1078  
Cl. Qu. 1071  
Cl. Qq. 1074. 1079
- Ti. Claudius Sabinus 933 a-d.  
\*478  
Ti. Cladius Sabinus 933 e
- Ti. Claudius Secundinus 1084.  
\*2428

- Ti. Claudius Secundi. 1081.  
**590**  
 Ti. Clau. Secundinus 1083  
 Ti. Cl. Secundi. 728  
 Claudius Secund. 1082  
 Cl. Secundinus 718  
 Ti. Claudius Succes(sus) 870  
 Ti. Claudius Tyrannus **253**  
 Cl. Vic(tor) *vel* C. L. Vic(tor)  
 2429  
 Ti. Cl(audius) Zos(imus) 581  
 = Zos. **162. 163\*** (*immo*  
 581)  
 = Zo. 582. **164**  
**CLAUDIA MARCELLINA**,  
*uxor L. Bellicii Sollertis (v.*  
*supra) (cf. PIR II 266 n.*  
*1104) 936*  
 Cl. Marcellin. 935  
 Cl. Marc. 934  
 Claudia Prima 2318  
 Cl(audia) Thet(is) 937  
 C. Clodius Asclepiad(es) **450**  
 C. Clodius Asclepi. 2243  
 L. Cl. Beryll. } *v. supra in Claudiis*  
 P. Cl. Ch. }  
 M. Clodius Clemens 938  
 M. C. C. (*si ad eundem*  
*pertinet*) 939  
**CLODIVS CRISPVS** (*immo*  
**CRISPINVS**), *cos. a. 113,*  
*v. ind. IV*  
 Clodius Firmus 940  
 Clod. . Herm(es) et Sam.  
 2208  
 Clodius Olybriu(s) **254**  
 L. Clod(ius) Phil. *vel* L. C. L.  
 1466  
 Clod. . Sam. 2208  
 Clodius Vict(or) 1518  
**COCCEIVS NERVA**, *idem atque*  
*pater imperatoris? (cf. PIR*  
*II 292 n. 1226) 2314*  
 Coceius Pro. **418** (*bis*)  
 Cocceia A. (?) lib. Primige-  
 ni(a) 745 (*cf. 587*)  
**P. COELIVS BALBINVS**, *cos. a.*  
*137, v. ind. IV*  
 Coelius Fortunatus **568**  
 M. Coelius Philetus 943  
 Coelius Philetus 944  
 Coe. Phi. 942  
**L. Cominius** 2319  
 Cominius C. f. Caesi(anus?)  
 2320  
 C. Cominius Co. . . . 945  
 Cominius Eucherius **255**  
 C. Cominius Proculus 1051  
 C. Comin. Proc. 1210. 1211  
 C. Cominius Sabinianus 754  
 (Sarinianus 754 b)  
 Cominia Candid(a) 2321  
 Considius Diadumenus 946  
 C. Cop[onius?] . . . 1896  
 L. Coponius Fortunatus 855  
**Cornelius At(t)icus 419**  
 A. Cornelius Clodianus 1027  
 C. Cornel[ius Ec]hio (?) 947  
 C. Cornelius Felix 2430. 2431.  
**479. 480**  
 L. Cornelius Hilarus 948  
 L. Cornelius Iason 949  
 C. Cornelius Natalis 950  
 L. Cornelius Niger **256. 257**  
 . . Cornelius Palm. . . , *idem*  
*ut videtur atque A. COR-*  
**NELIVS PALMA FRON-**  
**TONIANVS**, *cos. II a. 109*  
*(cf. PIR II 347 n. 1412)*  
 2166  
**L. CORNELIVS PRISCVS**, *cos.*  
*suff. a. inc. sub Traiano (cf.*  
*PIR II 349 n. 1420) 951*  
 (Prisc.). 952. **259.**  
 Cornelius Priscus **258**  
 L. Cornelius Pupul(us) 953

- COR(NELIVS) SEVE(RVS)  
= CN. PINARIVS COR-  
NELIVS SEVERVS, *cos.*  
*suff. a. 112 (cf. PIR II 361*  
*n. 1453) 954. 125*  
C. S. 126
- Cor(nelius) Suc(cessus) 202
- M. Cornelius Thalam(us) 419
- M. [Cornelius] Valer(ianus) 420  
M. Corn. Vale . . . 2167  
Corn. Vale. 421
- COR(NELIA) MANLIOLA,  
*cognatione coniuncta cum*  
Cornelio Severo, *v. supra*  
*(cf. PIR II 361 n. 1453)*  
486 a (Mall.). 124 (*cf.*  
486 b) (Ma[.]liol.)
- Cos. Amb. *v.* Coss. Amb.  
Cos. Grat. *v.* Cusinia Gratilla
- Cn. Cos. Sul(p.) 955  
Cos. Sulp. 584
- C. Cosconius 144. 145. 2232. \*2515  
(?)
- Cosc(onium) Herm(es) 956
- Cosin. Gra . . . *v.* Cusinia Gratilla
- Cosinius Satrianus 689
- Coss. Amb. 583 a  
Cos. Amb. 583 b
- C. Craecius Va. 132
- T. Creius Ianuarius *v.* T. Greius  
Ianuarius
- C. Cul. Dia. 585
- C. Culchius Nychius 567 (*cf.* 2556)
- C. Curiatius Atictus 261
- C. Curiatius Cosanus (*cf. BL I*  
*187 [47]) 97 a. b. 100*  
C. C. Cosanus 97 c, d  
C. C. Cosan. 96. 98  
C. C. C. 99. 102 (*cf.* 34).  
106. III. \*35 (*cf.* 2069).  
36 (*cf.* 106 b). 37. 38  
Curiat. Cosanus 101
- Cursenus Sedatus 377
- (M.) Curtius 966 a. b  
Curt. 967  
Qurtius 966 c. d. 262
- M. Curtius Metra. 965  
= (*ante manumissionem*)  
Metra. Qurti *v. ind. II*
- P. Curtius Nysus 968
- (L.) Cusinius Messalinus (*cf. PIR*  
*II 395 n. 1627) 957. 958*  
(Messallin.). 260 (Messalli.)
- Cusinia Gratilla, *filia ut vide-*  
*tur eius qui praecedit (cf.*  
*PIR II 396 n. 1631) 961 a*  
Cusin. Gratilla 961 b  
Cosin. Gra[till.] 960  
Cos. Grat. 959
- Q. Cuspius 969  
Cuspius Demetrius 263  
Cuspius De. 970  
Cuspius Melichrysus 971
- CVSPIVS RVFINVS = L.  
CVSPIVS PACTVMEIVS  
RVFINVS, *cos. a. 142 (cf.*  
*PIR II 397 n. 1637; v.*  
*etiam ind. IV) 2322*  
Cuspius Suner(os) 972
- Cn. D. A. *v.* Cn. Domitius Aman-  
dus  
D. D. *v.* DOMITIA DOMI-  
TIANI (*cf. ind. III) vel*  
duo DOMITII  
D. L., D. Lucil. *v.* DOMITIA  
LVCILLA  
D. P. F. L. = D(OMITIA) P.  
f(ilia) L(VCILLA)
- T. D. P. 33. 34 (*cf.* 12). 35. 36.  
11 (*cf.* 37). 13
- Cn. D. Secun. *v.* Cn. Domitius  
Secundus  
D. Severianus? 1639 (Sev.  
1639 b-c). 1648 (*v. ind. II*)



- D. Tul., D. Tullus v. CN.  
DOMITIVS TVLLVS
- N. Deceitius 2233
- Decimi- *vel* Decumi-  
P.(?) Decumius . . . 976. *Idem*  
*videtur qui sequitur:*  
Decumius Corn(elianus?)  
975  
P. Decim(ius) Epityn(chanus)  
974
- Decitius v. Deceitius
- M. Det. Pris(c)us 977
- \*Q. [D]idius Favor XIV S I, 5308,  
19
- L. Didius Fortunatus 2168
- Do. Af. v. CN. DOMITIVS AFER  
Do. Cel. (*vel* Cle.?) 1213
- Cn. Do. Tro. v. Cn. Domitius  
Trophimus
- Sex. Dol(utius) Gallus 264
- Dom. v. Domitius, Domitia  
Dom. Do., Dom. Dom., Dom.  
Domit. v. *ind.* III *sub* *Do-*  
*mitia Domitiani*
- C. Domatius Trophimus 2432
- Domitii, duo Domitii v. CN. CN.  
DOMITII LVCANVS et  
TVLLVS
- Domitius 2244
- Domitius } v. CN. DOMI-  
Cn. Domitius } TIVS AFER
- L. Domitius 1121
- Cn. Dom(itius) Adiec(tus) 1021
- CN. DOMITIVS AFER, *cos.*  
*suff. a. 39 (PIR III 29 n.*  
*126)* 266
- Cn. Domitius 979. 981. \*481.  
482. \*485 (Dom.)
- Domitius Afer 980. 982 a.  
\*c? 486 a (Afer Domitius)
- Af. Domitius 486 b
- Dom. Afer 982 b, Do. Af.  
265<sup>add.</sup>
- Domitius 983. 483
- Cn. Domitius Agathobulus 275.  
1106 (b = 2417). 1108
- Domitius Agathobulus 274.  
1107
- Domit. Agathob. 276  
= (*ante manumissionem*)  
Agathobulus Domiti Tulli,  
Agathobulus Domitiae Lu-  
cillae v. *ind.* II
- Cn. Domitius Amandus 1097  
(f = 2433). 285, Cn. D. A.  
1097 b
- Cn. Domitius Amoenus 1100  
= (*ante manumissionem*)  
Amoenus Domitiorum Lu-  
cani et Tulli v. *ind.* II
- Cn. Domitius Anigno. v. Cn.  
Domitius Arignotus
- Cn. Domitius Aprilis 1109, 1110  
= (*ante manumissionem*)  
Aprilis Agathobuli Domitiae  
Lucillae, *postea* Aprilis Cn.  
Domiti Agathobuli v. *ind.*  
II
- Cn. Domitius Arignotus 1094  
(g = 500. h = 501). 283.  
284 (*cf.* \*1099)
- Cn. Domitius Aringno.  
1094 f
- Cn. Domitus Anigno. 1024
- Cn. Domitius Asiaticus 1032
- Domitius Canta(ber) 442
- Cn. Domitius Carpus 267. 1111.  
59 (*cf.* 268). \*60
- Domitius Carpus 277  
= (*ante manumissionem*)  
Carpus Domiti Agathobuli  
v. *ind.* II
- Cn. Domitius Charito 1095
- Cn. Domitius Chryseros 1105  
(= 2434) (Crhyseros)

- Cn. Domitius Clemens 1102.  
**286. 502**
- Cn. Domitius Daphnus 1101  
= (*ante manumissionem*)  
Daphnus Domitiorum Tulli  
et Lucani *v. ind. II*
- L. Domitius Dapnus 1122
- Cn. Domitius Diomedes 1103  
(Diomed. 1103 c)
- Cn. Domitius Eleutherus 1104
- Cn. Domitius Euaristus 1096  
(Euarestus 1096 f)
- [C]n. Domitius [Fa]vor **498**  
= (*ante manumissionem*)  
Favor Cn. Domiti (Afri)  
s(ervus) *v. ind. II*
- L. Dom(itius) Germ. 1123
- Cn. Domitius Hermes (?) \*1944  
*cf. Hermes d(uorum) D(o-*  
*mitiorum) v. ind. II*
- Cn. Domit(ius) Hylas 1098  
Domitius Ianuarius 1124  
Dom(itius) Ision 1477
- CN. DOMITIVS LVCANVS,  
*cos. suff. a. inc. sub initium*  
*principatus Domitiani (cf.*  
*PIR III 49 n. 152).*  
*In lateribus Lucanus num-*  
*quam occurrit nisi nomine*  
*Cn. Domiti Tulli fratris ad-*  
*iecto; nam fratres in bono-*  
*rum consortio vivebant.*
- CN. CN. DOM(ITII) LV-  
C(ANVS) et TVLL(VS) (*de*  
*Cn. Domitio Tullo v. infra*)  
989. 991 (Tul.). **488** (Tul.)  
Cn. Cn. Domitii **268** (= **489**)  
duo Domitii Lucanus et  
Tullus 997  
d. D. Lucanus et Tullus 116  
d. D. Luc. et Tul. 994
- duo Domitii Tull . . . . .  
**272**  
Domitii Lucanus et Tullus  
999 a-c  
Dom. Luc. et Tul. 1001  
Domitii Tullus et Lucanus  
**490**  
duo Domitii 987 a. 988.  
992 a. b. 999 d. 1000 a-c. 2485  
(= **493**). **492. \*495**  
du. Domitii 987 b. 992 c. d.  
\*2516. **269**  
duo Domit. 117, duo Dom.  
**267**  
d. D. 118. 973. 996. 998.  
999 e. 1000 d  
Domitii 990. 992 e. 993. 995.  
999 f. g. 1000 e-i. 2476.  
2509. **270. 271. \*494**
- L. Domitius Lupus 2245. 2247.  
2248  
Domitius Lupus 2246  
[Domitius?] Primitivus 1085  
*cf. Primitivus Domitiae Lu-*  
*cillae v. ind. II*
- Cn. Domitius Roscianus 2435  
= (*ante manumissionem*)  
Roscianus Domiti Agathobuli  
*v. ind. II*  
Domitius Rufinus 2173. 2204  
= Rufinus 2174
- Cn. Domitius Salutaris 1093  
(= **499**)
- Cn. Domitius Secundus **491**  
Cn. D. Secun. 996
- Cn. Domitius Trophimus 269.  
1112. 1113 (Trophim.).  
1114. 1115 a-b (Trophim.).  
1115 c (*cf. 287*) (Troph-  
mus). \*1116 b (?). 1117  
(a = **503**). 1118 b. 1120  
Cn. Domit. Troph. 1116 a  
Cn. Dom. Troph. 1118 a

- Cn. Dom. Tro. 1119 (cf. 288)  
 Cn. Do. Trophimus 1116 c  
 Cn. Do. Tro. 1116 d  
 = (*ante manumissionem*)  
 Trophimus Agathobuli Domitiae Lucillae, *postea* Trophimus Cn. Domiti Agathobuli *v. ind. II*  
 CN. DOMITIVS TVLLVS, *cos. suff. a. inc. sub initium principatus Domitiani* (cf. PIR III 52 n. 167)  
 (*tituli in quibus et Lucanus et Tullus nominantur uncinis rotundis inclusi sunt*)  
 1004. 1006.  
 Cn. Dom. Tull. (989. 991 [Tul.]. 488 [Tul.]) 496  
 Domitius Tullus 259. 261 a. c. 262. (997. 999 a-c). 1003. 1005 b. 1007. (\*272. 490)  
 Domitius Tull. 258 a. 261 b. 1002  
 Domit. Tullus 1005 a  
 Domit. Tull. 258 b  
 Dom. Tullus \*2482  
 Dom. Tul. 260. (1001)  
 D. Tullus (1116) \*1005 c  
 D. Tul. 994  
 Domitia Atticilla 1125  
 DOMITIA DOMITIANI *v. ind. III*  
 DOMITIA CN. F(ILIA)  
 LVCILLA, *uxor P. Calvisii Tulli, cos. I a. 109, mater Domitiae P. f(iliae) Lucillae, avia imp. Marci* (cf. PIR III 59 n. 182) 1010  
 DOMITIA P. F(ILIA) LVCILLA, *uxor (M.). Anni Veri qui in praetura decessit post a. 128/129, mater M. Anni Veri qui postea imperavit* (cf. PIR III 60 n. 183). *Utri Lucillae lateres tribuendi sint, in quibus nomen Domitiae Lucillae sine ulla discriminis nota legatur, adhuc diiudicari non potest* (cf. BL III 188 [320], n. 256). *Titulos ita disposui ut primum ponerem eos quos additis vocabulis P(ubli) filia vel Veri Domitiae minoris esse constat. Sequuntur lateres communi nomine Domitiae Lucillae vel Lucillae signati.*  
 Domitia P. f. Lucilla 1026 a. 1038  
 Domitia Lucilla P. f. 1028  
 Domitia P. f. Lucill. 1034. 1036 (Luc.). 1059  
 Domit. P. f. Lucilla 1026 b. 1029 (Lucil.). 1033 (Lucill.). 1041 (Lucil.)  
 Domi. P. f. Lucil. 1046  
 Dom. P. f. Lucill. 1025. 1040  
 Dom. P. f. Luc. 1032. 1045  
 D. P. f. Lucilla 1027. 1035. 1056 (cf. 279). 1057. 1061. 2483. 275  
 D. P. f. Luc. 172  
 D. P. f. L. 1037. 1039. 276  
 D. P. (f.?) L. 1024  
 Domitia Lucill. Veri (*uxor*) 1085, Dom. Luc. Ver. 1071  
 D. Lucil. Veri 1072  
 = Lucilla Veri 617. 1049. 1050 (Lucila). 1078. 1080 a. \*c. 1081. 1082. 278\* (*immo* 617)

- Lucill. Veri 618. 619\*. 1068.  
1077 (*cf.* 281). 1080 b. 1089.  
1090 b\* (Ver.)
- Lucil. Veri 131. 1086 (Ver.).  
1090 a. 41 (*cf.* 2071)
- Domiti(a) Lucilla n(ostra)  
(= *Domitia Lucilla minor*)  
616 = Lucilla n(ostra) 223 a  
Lucill. n. 223 b
- 
- Domitia Lucilla 130. 171.  
263. 270 b. 1008. 1011.  
1018. 1022. 1048. 1091.  
2517. 42 (*cf.* 1746)
- Domitia Lucill. 1015 a. 1067.  
59 (*cf.* 268)
- Domitia Lucil. 264. 1060
- Domiti. Lucilla *cf.* 616
- Domiti. Lucil. 1023
- Domit. Lucilla 266 b\*. 1013.  
1047. 1070. 282 (*cf.* 1092)
- Domit. Lucill. 266 a
- Domit. . . . [Lu]cill. \*273  
(*cf.* 1942)
- Domit. Lucil. 277. 1014 a.  
1019. \*2442
- Domit. Lucill. 1044
- Dom. Lucilla 1014 c. 1016.  
1069
- Dom. Lucill. 270 a. 273.  
1014 b. 1042. 1062
- Dom. Lucil. 125. 267. 1012  
b (Luci.). 1051. 1054. 274
- Dom. Luc. 139. 140. 173.  
269. 630. 1012 a. 1017 (= 2496). 1020. 1021. 1030.  
1043 (*bis*). 1052. 1058.  
1063. 1073. 1079. 1088. 60.  
277 \*(*immo* 1052). 280. 497
- Dom. Lu. 1030
- Dom. L. 127. 128\*. 272
- Do. Lu. 132
- D. L. 121. 123. 124. 129.  
265. 271. 1065. 1066. 2514  
(?)
- . . . . . Lucilla 1015 b. 1031\*  
= Lucilla (*cf.* 223 a). 1009.  
1064. \*2473. 2484
- Lucill. (*cf.* 223 b). 224  
1087\*
- Lucil. 1053, Luc. 1018. 1020
- Domitia Restituta 1126 (*cf.*  
289)
- EGGIUS AMBIBVLVS, *cos. a.*  
126, *v. ind. IV*
- . . Egnatius du[ovir] *Praeneste*  
2293
- Egnat(ius) Clem(ens) 416
- Aegn(atius) Fel(ix) 251
- Eg. Fel. 250
- Q. Egnatius Teres 2323
- Egrilius Euty(ch)us XIV S I,  
5308, 20
- Eren(n)i- *v. Herenni-*
- L. Erm. Felix 1235
- L. Etreilius 1129
- S. F. (?) 62 (*cf.* 281 b)
- Q. F. A. *v.* Q. F. Aprilis
- T. F. A., T. F. Amp., T. F. Am-  
pliatius *v.* T. Flavius Ampli-  
atus
- Q. F. Aprilis 1066. 1067 (Apri.)  
Q. F. A. 1065. 1068 (Q. L. V.  
1068 b, *perperam*)
- Q. F. Ca. VIII 1132
- T. F. E. N. XIV S I, 5308, 23
- L. F. P. 401
- T. F. P. 539. 2436 (*alius?*)  
*v. etiam* T. F. Pri.
- T. F. Pri. *fortasse* (T.) F(lavius)  
Pri(mitibus) (*v. infra*) 15 a  
T. F. P. 15 b
- F. Prob., Fla. Prob. *v.* Flavius  
Probus

- Fab(ius) fig(ulus) *vel potius*  
 Fig(ulus) 422  
 L. Fabius L. f(ilius) 505. *Fortasse non diversus ab eo qui sequitur*  
 L. Fabius L. (f.) Apol. 504  
 Q. FABIVS CATVLLINVS, *cos.*  
*a. 130, v. ind. IV*  
 M. Fabius Cosmus 1133  
 Q. Fabius Felix (*cf. PIR III 100 n. 33*) 2169 (*cf. 423*)  
 Fab(ius) Fig(ulus) *vel fig(ulus)* 422  
 M. Fabius Licymnus 800. 801  
 M. [Fab]ius Lychimn(us) 221  
 Fabia Aeliana 1134  
 Q. Fabricius Felix 2437  
 Fadius Crescens 1135  
 Fad(ius) Euhelp(istus) 209.  
 210 (Euhe.)  
 (L.) Fadius Passarus 2000  
 L. Fadius Pass. 12  
 L. Fad. Pass. 207. 674 (Pas.)  
 L. Faenius Rufus, pr(aefectus)  
 pr(aetorio) *a. 62-65 (cf. PIR III 116 n. 102)* 1136.  
 290  
 Faenius Rufus 1137  
 Faenius Telesphorus 424 a (*cf. 2219*). 424 b (Telespho.)  
 C. Fidiclanus Clemens 2440  
 C. Fidiclanus Primus 2441  
 Fl., Fla. v. Flavius  
 C. Flavius Abascantus 1142. 1143  
 T. Flavius Aeron 2326  
 T. F(lavius) Ampliatus 518. 519  
 (Amp.). *Idem fortasse*: T.  
 F. A. 586  
 M. FLA(VIVS) APER, *cos. a.*  
*130, v. ind. IV.*  
 (M.) FLAVIVS APER, *filius ut videtur praecedentis, cos. II*  
*a. 176, nisi eum eundem esse putes atque consulem a. 130 ut statui BL III 148 (280) vix recte (cf. PIR III 135 n. 209) 210. 422. 653. 1144. 1146. 1147. 1148*  
 Fl. Aper 209. 1145  
 T. Fl(avius) Celer 1504  
 T. Flavius Aug(usti) l(ibertus)  
 Clonus 1149  
 = (*ante manumissionem*)  
 Clonus Caesaris *v. ind. II*  
 T. Flavius Corinthus 710 (TELA.  
 Corint. 710 c)  
*alius*: Fl. Corinthus 765. 858  
 (Corint.)  
 T. Flavius Euchrus 1150. 294 (*cf. 1151*) (Eucrus)  
 T. Fl(avius) Felix 1255  
 Fl(avius) Halotus 543  
 T. Flavius Hermes 1152  
 T. Flavius Ianuar(ius) 1153  
 FL(AVIVS) LOLLIANVS  
 c(larissimus) v(ir) = Q.  
 FLAVIVS MAESIVS (*vel*  
 MESSIVS) EGNATIVS  
 LOLLIANVS, *cos. a. 355*  
 (*cf. RE 13, 1371 no. 10*)  
 1688  
 Fla. Mag. 1227  
 Flav(ius) Maxim. 863  
 Fl(avius?) Ones(imus) 17  
 L. Flavius Philippus 1154  
 T. Flavius Phoebus 679  
 Flavius Phoebus 678 a. b  
 Flavius Pho... 677 d  
 Flav. Pho. 677 b. \*c. \*205  
 Fl. Phoebus 677 a. 678 c  
 Flavius Posidonius 205  
 Flav. Posido. 677 b  
 Flav. Posid. 677 c. \*d. 678 a  
 Fl. Posid. 677 a. \*678 b  
 Fl. Pos. 678 c



- Fl. Pr. **239** (*cf.* 859)  
 Flavius Primitibus 747 *v. supra*  
     T. F. Prim.  
 Flav(ius) Prob(us) 1055 a  
     Fla. Prob. 1055 b  
     F. Prob. 1054  
 T. Flavius Pyramus **506**  
 T. Flavius Rhodo **338. 339** (*cf.*  
     1155)  
 T. Fl(avius) Romanus 576  
 C. Flavius Secundus 1156. **295**  
     FL(AVIVS) TITIANVS c(la-  
         rissimus) v(ir) (*cf.* *PIR III*  
         174 n. 383) 526. 527  
 C. Flavius Zosim(us) **425**  
 M. Flavius Zosimus (*immo* M.  
     Fulvius Zosimus) *v. infra*  
     FLAVIA DOMITIL(LA),  
         *uxor T. Flavi Clementis, con-*  
         *sulis a. 95 (cf. PIR III 188*  
         *n. 418) 1139*  
     Fl(avia) Operata 680  
     Flavia Pelagia **296** (*cf.* 2012)  
     Flavia Procula 1157 (Procla).  
         1158  
         Fla. Pro. **297**  
         Fl. Procla 1159  
     Flavia Seia Isaurica (*fort. ord.*  
         *senat.*) *v.* Seia Isaurica  
 P. Folius 2536 (?). **298**  
 Fonteius Fyrmus 1224  
     Font(eius) Proclus 205  
 Fuficius Ferentinian(us) 382  
 M. Fulvius 1358 a (= **307**). 1358 b  
     (= 2446). 2445 (= **302**).  
     \***304** (= 1894)  
     Fulvius M. 978 (= **303**).  
     **299. 306**  
     M. Ful. **305**  
     Fulvius **308**  
     Ful. 2444 (*cf.* **301**)  
 M. Fulvius Antioc. 2443 (= 1161  
     = **300**)
- Fulvius (?) Eros 2040  
 [M.] Fulvius [E]utrapelus 1162  
 Fulvius Favor 1163  
 C. FVL(VIVS) PLAVT(IANVS)  
     pr(aefectus) pr(aetorio) c(la-  
         rissimus) v(ir) cos. II a.  
         203 (*cf.* *BL III 160-171*  
         [292-303]; *PIR III 218 n.*  
         554) 47. 160 (*cf.* **45**). 184.  
         185. 197. \*206. 240. 241 (*cf.*  
         **571**). 406. **21. 46. 47. 190**  
         (*cf.* 1947)  
     C. Ful. Pla. . . . **52**  
     Fulvius Plautianus **311**  
     Fulvius Primitivus 183. 184  
     Fulvius So. . . (?) 2046  
     Fulvii Sotericus et Favor 1163  
     M. Fulvius Symphorus 1164  
     M. Fulvius Zosimus **309/10** add.  
     Fulvia Secund. **312**  
     Fulvia Suabilla 167  
 (ANNIA) FVNDANIA FAVS-  
     TINA, *filia M. Anni Libonis*  
     *consulis a. 128, uxor T. Pom-*  
     *poni Proculi Vitrasii Pollionis*  
     *consulis II a. 176 (cf. PIR I*  
     *129 n. 713) 520*  
 Fundilius 1166  
     A. Fundi(lius) Hellen. **313**  
 P. Furius Albanus 1167. 1168. **314**  
     M. Furius Vindex 2447
- G. Ras. (?) 1171  
     A. G. S. *v.* A. Gabinius Successus  
         G. T. 500. 501  
 Ga. Aug. *v.* A. Gabinius Augustalis  
 [A. Gab]in(ius) August(alis) \***145**  
     (*cf.* 2029)  
     A. Ga. Aug. \*510. \*511  
     [G]ab. Aug. (*Vaglieri*: Sab.  
         Aug., *perperam*) **144**  
     A. Gabinius Successus

- A. Gavius Successus **134**  
(*cf.* 497)  
A. Gab. Suc. 495. 496  
A. G. S. 490-494 (*cf.* **133**).  
**131. 132**  
Gabin(ius) Succes. **129** (*cf.*  
488). \*489 (*cf.* **130**) (Gab.)  
C. Galerius Restitutus 2328  
C. Galerius Venustus 2329  
Galvisi- v. Calvisi-  
Gavius 1170  
Gavius Proculus 523  
Sex. Gavius Sarinus **315**  
P. Gavius Secundus **535**  
M. (GAVIVS) SQVILLA GAL-  
LICANVS, *cos. a. 127, v.*  
*ind. IV*  
Gavia Hamil(la) 397  
Gavia Amylla 355. **92**  
Gav. Amyl. **93**  
S[ex.] Geganius Fimbria II [vir]  
*Praeneste* 2291  
A. Gellius Karus **151**  
L. Gellius Prudens 55. 56. 57\*.  
82  
Gellius Prudens 58  
. . . Geminius Apollinaris 2448  
C. Gem(inius) Ruf(us) q(uaes-  
tor) *Praeneste* **452**  
Q. Gra. Apol. **316**  
L. Granius L. l(ib.) Inge(nuus)  
1172  
Grattia P. f. 2156 (*cf.* **409**)  
T. Greius Ianuarius 117. 118. 119  
(Creius 119 a). 120  
L. Gurrius 1173  
C. H. N. **428**  
H. P. 1174 a  
M. H. P. v. M. Herennius Pollio  
C. Helvacius Mallus **317** (*cf.* 1176)  
T. Helvius Dio. 1177  
Heren(nius) 1178  
C. Eren(n)ius . . . **429**  
L. Her(ennius) Opt(atus) 2412  
M. HERENNIVS POLLIO, *cos.*  
*suff. a. inc. ante a. 103* (*cf.*  
*RE* 8, 676 n. 36) 1179. 1180  
M. Her. Pol. 1181 a  
M. H. P. 1181 b. 1182  
C. Herennius Salu. *vel* Salv. 2171  
C. Herius Secundio 1183 (Sec.  
1183 b)  
. . . Hilla. R. . . *vel* . . . Hillar. . .  
1951  
L. Hillarius C. f. Clu(stumina *scil.*  
*tribu*) *vel* Clu. 1188  
Hilarius Augur 1185  
C. Hilarius Romanus 1186  
Honoratius Macrinus 1189  
Hor. Popisc. (*nisi potius loca intel-*  
*legenda sunt ex quibus*  
*lateres Vari Romani prodierunt*; *v. ind. VI I a*) 676  
HORTENSIVS PAVLINVS c(lar-  
issimus) v(ir) = M. CAS-  
SIVS HORTENSIVS PAV-  
LINVS (*cf. RE* 8, 2481 n.  
14)  
Hortensius Paullinus **106**  
Hortesius Paulinus 417  
Hortes. Paulin. c. v. 416  
Ortes. Paul. **105**  
Hort. Paulinus 415  
Ortensius Procl(us) 1259  
C. Hostilius 1190  
C. Hostilius Ampliatus 1191 (*cf.*  
**592**). 1192  
C. Hostilius Nicanor 1193  
C. Hostilius Niphetus 1194  
C. Hostilius Priscus 1195  
Inu. Sul. (*pro* Iun. Sul.?) \*2379  
ISC. *vel* Isc. (?) 1200  
Iulius 1201  
Iulius . . . 2175



- Ti. Iulius Agatha *vel* Agathae-  
 (merus) 2331  
     Iulius Amerumnus 2172  
 C. Iulius Antimachus 1202  
 C. Iulius Apollinaris 1203  
     Iulius Callistus 1145  
 C. Iulius Dama 2194  
 M. Iul(ius) Dida 1429  
 C. Iulius Dioscorus 1204  
     Iulius Eutac(tus) 487 a  
         Iul. Eutac. **127**  
         Iul. Euta. 487 b. **128**  
         Iul. Eut. 487 c.  
     Iulius Felix 683. **206**  
     Iulius Fortunatus 1423  
 C. Iulius Fortunatus 711. 712  
 M. Iulius Fortunatus 601  
 C. Iulius Gorg. **318**  
 L. Iulius Herm. XIV S I, 5308,  
     27  
 C. Iulius Hillus XIV S I, 5308,  
     28  
 C. Iulius Ianuarius 940  
 Ti. Iulius Iucundus 2450. **507**  
 Ti. Iulius Iulianus 2173-2177.  
     **430**  
 L. Iulius Lesbius 654. 655  
 C. Iulius Lupio **25. 26. \*27**  
     Iulius Lupio 76. 77. 78  
 C. Iulius Neicei(as?) **431**  
 C. Iulius Nisus 1205  
 Ti. Iulius Optatus, *praefectus*  
     *classis* (cf. *BL III* 90 [222])  
     387  
 Ti. Iulius Periander 1206. 2451  
     (= **508**)  
 C. Iulius Philippus 1207  
     Iul(ius) Pris. 211  
 C. Iulius Priscus 1351  
 Sex. Iulius Priscus **319**  
 C. Iulius Rufus **509**  
 L. IVLIVS RVFVS, *consul ut*  
     *videtur a. 67* (cf. *RE* 10,
- 794 n. 445) 633. 663. 664  
 Iulius Ru. **200**  
 Iu[I](ius) *vel* Iu[n](ius) Se-  
     neca 1605  
 C. Iulius Stephanus \*1209 c  
     C. Iulius Stephan. 1209 a. b.  
     1212 (cf. **321**). **320**  
     Iulius Stephanus 1208  
     Iulius Step. 1210  
     Iul. Step. 244. 1213  
     Iulius Theodotus eq(ues)  
     R(omanus) 526  
     Iulius Titianus 2178  
 L. IVLIVS VRSVS VALERIVS  
     FLAC(CVS), *parentela con-*  
     *iunctus cum L. Iulio Urso*  
     *Serviano, cos. II a. 102, cos.*  
     *III a. 134* (cf. *BL II* 177  
     [181]) 521  
     C. Valerius Flac. Iulius  
     Ursus 522  
     L. U(rsus) Val(erius) **148**  
 Iulia . . . 1956  
 Iulia Albana 1217  
     Iulia Alb. 1214. 1215. 1216.  
     **322**  
 Iulia Dyna. . . 436  
 Iulia L[u]pula 338  
 Iulia Menile 1375  
 Iulia Procula, *soror probabili-*  
     *ter C. Iulii Proculi, consulis*  
     *suff. a. 109* (cf. *BL II* 175  
     [179]) 646. 647. 648. 650 a.  
     651 b. **193. 194**  
     Iulia Procla 650 b. 651 a. **195**  
     Iulia Procul. 649  
     Iulia Pr. . . . \*537  
 Iu[lia?] Sa]turnina \*365  
     Iulia Saturnin. 1221 a  
     Iulia Saturni. 1218 a. 1219.  
     **323**  
     Iulia Saturn. 1218 b. 1220.  
     1221 b. \*1222

- Iulia Tryphosa 1223  
M. Iunio(s) T. l(ibertus?) 2452  
Iunius 1958  
C. Iunius Astragalus 2179  
C. Iunius Diogenes 324  
N. Iunius Faustus 1225  
Iun(ius) Iulianus \*489 (cf. 130). 129 (cf. 488)  
= Iul(ianus) 494  
= I(ulianus) 490-493 (cf. 133). 131. 132.  
Iun(ius) Paulin(us) 389  
P. Iunius Pollio 1226  
Iunius Rufus, *praef. Aegypti intra a. 94 et 98* (cf. *PIR II* 262 n. 1086) 206<sup>add.</sup>  
Iun. R. 683  
Iu[n.] vel Iu[l.] Seneca 1605  
Iun. Sul. v. Inu. Sul.  
Iunius Sulpic(ianus) 1227 a  
Iunius Sulp. 1229 a (Sul.). b  
Iun. Sulpic. 325  
Iun. Sulp. 1228 a. \*b  
Iun. Sul. 1227 b  
Iun. S. 1228 c. \*326  
M. Iunius Tertius 2332  
Iunia 2333  
Iunia Antonia 430  
Iunia Sabina 431  
P. IVVENTIVS (CELSVS), *cos. II a. 129, v. ind. IV*  
P. IVVENT(IVS) CELS(VS), *cos. a. 164, v. ind. IV*  
M.' (Iuventius) Later(ensis)  
q(uaestor) *Praeneste, idem Laterensis fortasse qui praetor fuit a. 51 a. C. (cf. etiam Année épigr. 1940, 44 n. 129)* 2301  
P. Iuventius Saturninu(s) 376 (cf. 2250)  
Iuventius Saturninus 375 (cf. 2034)
- KAABEICEI (*gen.*) v. C. Calvisius Mnester  
†KACCIOC 2415 (cf. 466)  
S. L. vel P. S. L. 281 a  
L. Hilarus 2388  
S. L. L. v. Sex. Laelius Laelianus  
C. L. M. 328 = C. M. (?) 85 (?)  
L. Mart. v. Livius Martialis  
L. L. S. 2359  
T. L. S. 1959  
C. L. V. 2363  
A. L. Vesia(nus?) 1495  
C. L. Vic(tor) vel Cl. Vic(tor) 2429  
L. La. Fe. v. L. Lanius Festus  
Labeli- v. Laberi-  
D. Laber[ius] Aph(rodisius?) 510  
L. Lab(erius) Bars. 542. 154  
M. Laberius Eleutherus 1233  
L. Labelius (*immo* Laberius) Fortunatus 1232  
D. Laberius Saturninus 2453  
L. Laberius Secundus 534. 535 (Laber. Sec. 535 c)  
C. Laberius Zosimu(s) 643  
C. Lailius 2454  
D. Laelius Demet(rius) 1234 (cf. 329)  
L. Laelius Iucundus 2455  
Sex. Laelius Lelianus 588  
S. L. L. 589  
L. Lanius Crescens 623  
L. Lanius Felicissimus 755  
L. Lanius Festus 238. 239  
L. La. Fe. 240  
Lanius Festus 399 (Lan.). 402  
Lanius Fortunatus 159  
Lanius Pisentinus 166  
Lanius Rufinus 602  
L. Lanius Substitutus 767. \*768  
A. (vel a) Lanius Vin(dex?) 1441

- Larcus (?) O. (?) 1146  
     Larcia Sabina 1235. \*1236  
 M. Latin(ius) Diophanes 2180  
 Lepidius 1237  
     Q. Lepidius . . . Epinicus 1238  
     Q. Lepidius Hermias 2251  
     Q. Lepidius Hilarus 2234  
     Q. Lepidius Q. f. Iduarius 1239 a  
     Q. Lepidius Iduarius 1239 b  
 duo Lesagi 1240  
     L. Lesagius Tritogen(es) 1241  
 M. M. Licini fratres 2253  
     C. Licinius Agathemer(us) 1243  
     M. Licinius Callistianus 690  
     M. Licinius Crispio 2457  
     Licinius Donatus 2205  
     C. Licinius Donax 1244. 1260  
     Licinius Felicissi(mus) 414  
     Licin. Feliciss. 413  
     L. Licinius Felix 635  
     Licinius Felix 636  
     M. Licinius Licca 2252  
     C. Licinius Montanus 148. 149\*. 150  
     Licinius Pudens 691  
     L. Licinius L. f. Successianus 2336  
     Licinius Venustus 414  
 M. Livius Hermeros 2181  
     Livius Martialis 1080  
     L. Mart. 1079  
 C. Logetius Ma. . . \*1961  
 T. Long. Prisc. II vir *Praeneste* 2294  
 L. Lucanius Latiaris 1245  
 L. Lurius Aprio 1247  
     L. Lurius Blandus 1248  
     Lurius Blandus 511  
     L. Lurius Crescens 280. 61  
     M. Lurius Ianu(arius) 586 (cf. 736)  
     L. Lurius Martialis 1249. 1250  
     Lurius Martialis 1251  
     L. Lurius Myrinus 1252 (Myr-  
         rynus). 200. 201  
     L. Lurius Primitivus 208 (cf. 50). \*512 ([L.] Lurius [P]rimit[iv.])  
     L. Lurius Proculus 1253 (Procul. 1253 c). 1254. \*2458 (Proc.)  
     M. Lurius Valens 335. 336. 337  
     L. Lurius Verecun(dus) 2459  
     L. Lurius Verus \*1962  
 Lusenus Amplia(tus) 1522  
     Lusenus Celer 1523  
 C. Lusidius Adiutor 67 (cf. 1778)  
 C. Lusienus Hil. 330  
 C. Lus(ius) Modes(tus) 1255  
     Lusius Mod. 207 (cf. 1256)  
 S. M. A. = S(tatius) M(arcus) A.? 514  
     Statius M. Antio[chus] v. *in* Marciis  
     L. M. Astrag = L. M(emmius) Astrag.? 1300 (Astra. 1300 b)  
     M. Bas., M. Bassus v. Statius Marcius Bassus  
     L. M. C. v. L. Munatius Crescens  
     C. M. . . . Capit. \*1963  
     St. M. Celer v. Statius Marcius Celer  
     P. M. Crispus v. P. Marcius Crispus  
     L. M. E. 410. 412 (cf. 104)  
     L. M. F. v. L. Munatius Faustus  
     M. Statius Florenti(us) }  
     Statius M. Fortunatus } v. Statius  
     Statius M. Helenus } Marcius  
     M. Lucifer, Statius M. } Floren-  
     Lucifer } tius, For-  
     Statius M. Restitutus } tunatus *cet.*  
     L. M. I. 1257. 331 (cf. 1258)  
     M. M. 2254  
     M. Macri. v. Memmia Macrina  
     L. M. R. v. L. Memmius Rufus

- Q. M. R. 544  
M. M. V. 1432  
C. Ma . . . 2255  
Macrin(ius) Nerian(us) aed(ilis)  
*Praeneste* 2299  
Mad. (?) Vitalian(us) \*1612  
L. Maelius Vindex 1424  
L. Mag. M. f(ilius) q(uaestor)  
*Praeneste* 2302  
Magia Marcella 1259  
L. Mallius Antigonus 1262  
L. Malius Hermaphilus 1260  
L. Malius Hermogen(es) 1261  
L. Mal(lius?) Thr. 900  
S. Malti(us?) . . . . \*1965  
Mam. Brom. 2028  
L. Man. Theocritus 1263  
Q. Manius Verecundus **212** (*cf.*  
2068)  
L. Manlius Fuscus 1264  
Mantelii 1265  
C. Marcius L. f. **513**  
C. Marcius 1267  
Marcius C. 1269. **333** (*cf.*  
1268)  
Mar. C. 1270, Mar. **334**  
L. Marcius 2182  
St. Marcius **618** (*cf.* 1966) (*add.*)  
St. Marcius Acanthus 1271  
Statius M(arcus) Antio[chus]  
**203** (*cf.* 672)  
Statius Marcius Bassus 79. **23**  
(*cf.* 60)  
M. Bassus 81. 340  
M. Bas. 80  
St. M(arcus) Celer **515** (Cel.).  
**516**  
P. Marcius Celsus 1272  
P. Marcius Crispus 412 (*cf.* **104**)  
P. M. Crispus 409 (Crisp.).  
410. 411 (*cf.* **103**)  
Statius Marcius Demetrius 1273  
(Stat. 1273 a. b). 2460  
Marcius Fyrmus 545  
Mar. Fyr. 1478  
L. Marcius Firmus 1274  
M(arcus) Statius Florenti(us)  
**517**  
Statius Marcius Fortunatus 1275  
a  
Statius M. Fortunatus 1275  
b. **156** (Fortu.)  
Sta. Marcius Fo. . . . \***157**  
St. Mar. Fort. **155**  
St(atius) Marcius Fuscus 2461.  
**518**  
Statius Marcius Helenus 1276.  
**335**  
Statius M. Helenus 1277  
Q. Marcius Hermoge(nes), *praef.*  
*classis Aug(ustae) Alex-*  
*(andrianae) a. 134* (*cf. RE*  
*14, 1561 n. 68*) 1278  
Statius Marcius Lucifer 2463.  
**519**  
Statius M. Lucifer 62. 83  
M. Statius Lucifer 2462. **520**  
(Stat. **520** b)  
Sta. Marcius Lucifer 61  
Mar. Lucifer 59 a  
M. Lucifer 59 b. c  
= (*ante manumissionem*)  
Lucifer **525**  
C. Marcius Mai. 1279  
St(atius) Marcius Neo **336** (*cf.*  
1280)<sup>add.</sup>  
St(atius) Marcius Optatus 1281.  
1282 (= 2464)  
L. Marcius Pierus 1283 (= **521**  
a)  
L. Marc. Pierus **521** b  
Statius Marcius Primigenius **522**  
C. Marcius Pyrrichus 1284  
St(atius) Marcius Rabbaeus 310.  
311. **81**<sup>add.</sup> \***616** (*add.*)

- St(atius) Marcius Re(s)titutus  
**523**  
 St(atus) M. Restitutus 1285  
 St. Marc. Restitut. **525**  
 St. Mar. Res. . . \***524**  
 Marcius Sabinus 1286  
 C. Marcius Salvius 2337  
 St(atus) Marc(ius) Secundio 357  
 (= **526**). 1287 (Secundi.).  
 2465 (Sec. a, Secun. \*b).  
 \***527 b** (Secun. . . )  
 St(atus) Mar. Secundio **527 a**  
 C. Marcius Severus 1288  
 St(atus) Marcius Stator **337**<sup>add.</sup>  
 St. Marcius Stator 1289.  
 1290 (Marc. 1290 c)  
 St. Marcius St. 2466  
 C. Marcius Strabo **528**  
 St(atius) Marcius Suavillus 1291  
 St(atius) Marcius Tognaeus **529**  
 St(atius) Marcius Triferna 2467  
 M. Marcius Zosimus \*2257  
 C. Marius Eut. 1292  
 L. Marius Hitpolitus **388** (*cf.*  
 2052)  
 M. Marius Primigenius 1293. **530**  
 M. Marius Priscus 2468. **531**  
 M. Marius Secundinus **532**  
 Maria Pyralis XIV S I, 5308,  
 30  
 C. Marsidius Faustus 1294  
 C. Marsidius Philomusus 1295  
 Masurius 776  
 L. Matienus Martialis 1296  
 C. Mattius December 1297  
 Sex. Meclonius Bassa (?) \*1970  
 M. Mel. Poli. 2413  
 P. Mellutius Euvenus 533  
 L. M(emmius?) Astrag. v. L. M.  
 Astrag.  
 P. Memmius Cassi. 477  
 A. Memmius Clem(ens) **70** (*cf.*  
 291)  
 L. Memmius Rufus (*cf. BL II 94*  
 [98]) 1298. **338**  
 L. M. R. **339** (*cf. 1155*)  
 Memmius Sceptus 1299  
 Memmia L. f. Macrina 1302  
 Mem. Macrina 1301  
 M. Macri. 1300  
 L. Mes. Ste. 2189  
 L. Mescinius Flaccus 1787 + 2469  
 L. Mescin. Flacc. 2470  
 Q. Mestrius II vir *Praeneste* 2295  
 Met. Atal(us) 729  
 Q. Metilius 1304  
 Metilius Proculus 417 (Procl.)  
 418  
 METTIVS RVFVS, *cos. suff. a.*  
*128, v. ind. IV*  
 C. Milasius Cupitus 1305 (= 2471)  
 C. Minuc(ius) C. f(ilius) q(uaes-  
 tor) *Praeneste* **453**  
 Minucius Nicomachus 1306  
 C. Minucius C. f. Pedianus 2472  
 Mo. Fa. 1375  
 Q. Modius Saturus 1307. **340**<sup>add.</sup>  
 Q. Mucius Ascl[epiades] 2401  
 A. Mucius Arteme(dorus?) 1308  
 A. Mucius Felix 1309  
 MVMMIA VARA c(larissima)  
 f(emina) (*cf. RE 16, 534 n.*  
 29) 1310  
 C. Munat[ius] . . . . 2338  
 Q. Munatius 1311  
 Munatius Anice(tus?) 685  
 L. Munatius Crescens 122 a. 123  
 L. Munat. Cresc. 127  
 L. Mun. Cresc. 124. 128\*  
 (Cres.)  
 L. M. C. 121. 122 b. c. 126  
 = (*ante manumissionem*)  
 Crescens L. Munati Fausti v.  
*ind. II*  
 L. Munatius Faustus 962 a. \*1897  
 L. M. F. 962 b



- Munatius Maximus 742  
 C. Mur. Iustus *vel* Iusti(nus) 1312  
 Q. Murcius 2258  
  
 N. C. 2410. 2411. XIV S I, 5308, 9  
   N. C. v. C. Naevius  
   C. N. C. 1313  
   L. N. C. 1314. **341**  
   L. N. D. 1061  
   C. N. F. v. C. Nunnidius Fortunatus  
   Q. N. F. 2183  
   N. I. (?) 830  
   C. N. Re. v. C. Nunnidius Restitutus  
 Naevius 1489  
   C. Naevius 1315  
     C. Naevius C. l(ib.)? 1978  
     N. C. 1321  
   L. Naevius 1316. 1317  
   P. Naevius 1318 (P. Nae. 1318 a)  
   C. Naevius C. l(ibertus) Alexand(er) 1320. 1321 (Alex.)  
     C. Naevius Alexd. 1319  
   C. Naevius C. l(ibertus) Apollonius 1320  
     C. Nae. Apo. 1322  
     = (*ante manumissionem*)  
     Apolonius N(aevi) C. s(er-vus) v. *ind. II*  
   C. Naevius Asclepiades) 1323  
     (C. Nae. As. 1323 c)  
   C. Naevius Bal. 1324 (*cf.* **343**)  
     C. Nae. Bal. **342** (*cf.* 1975)  
   C. Naevius C. l(ib.) Barnae(us?)  
     1325  
   Naevius Bassus 1326  
   C. Naevius Cl.? 1978 (v. C. Naevius)  
   C. Nae. D. . . . \*1974  
   C. Naevius Dama 1327  
   C. Naevius Deme(trius?) **344**  
     (*cf.* 1328)  
  
 L. Naevius DPL (*fortasse* Diphi-lus; *cf.* 2238) **345**  
 C. Naevius Gamus 1329  
 C. Naevius Ha. 1330  
 C. Naevius Isoc(h)rysus 1331 a  
   Naevius Isoc. . . 1331 c. d (Is.)  
   Nae. Isochry. 1331 b  
 L. Naevius Pamphilus 1332  
 C. Naevius Philomus(us) 1333  
 C. Naevius Primus 1334  
 C. Naevius St. 1335  
 C. Naevius Thales 1336  
 L. Ner. Lov. . . (?) 2339  
 Neratia Quartilla **346**  
 Ninidi- v. Nunnidi-  
 Nitentii 1482 (?). 2321  
   Nitentius 1482 (?). 2340  
 Nonius Clemens 642  
   Non(ius?) Iul(ianus?) 1453.  
     1454. 1455. **18**  
   L. Nonius Tib. 2384  
 A. Nov(ius) As. 1501 (*cf.* **393**)  
 L. Numer(ius) Iustus 47  
   Numerius Iustus 176, Numer. Iust. 177, Num. Iustus  
     1124  
   L. Numer[i(us)] Moderat(us)  
     **533** (*cf.* 2474)  
 C. Nunnidius Felix 737 (Nunidius).  
   738 (Ninidius). **216**  
 C. Nunnidius Fortunat(us) 846  
   (Fortu.). 861, C. Nunn.  
   Fort. 862  
   C. Nyn. Fortunat. 849  
   C. Nun. Fortuna. 847. 850\*  
   (Fort.). 860 (Fort.)  
   C. N. F. **236**  
   Nun. Fort. 848  
   Nunn(idius) Leo *vel* Leon. **69**  
     (*cf.* 286)  
 C. N(unnidius?) Re(stitutus?)  
   1158

- Nunnidius Restitut(us) 1278  
 Nunn. Rest. **69** (cf. 286)  
 Nun. Restutus (*sic*) 289  
 Nunnidia Sperat(a) **215**  
 Nyn. v. C. Nunnidius Fortunatus
- L. Obidius Romnus (*immo* Romanus?) **347**  
 Oc. Cest(ianus) 485  
 Q. Ocius 2475  
   M. Ocius Antiochus 698  
   P. Ocius Antiochus 700. **187** (cf. 2036) (Antiocus)  
   P. Ocius Chres. **348**  
 Ocratius, *maritus* Rutiliae L. f(i-liae) 665  
 T. Octavenus Gratus 464  
   Octavenus Pius **350**  
   Octavena Pia **349**  
 Octavius 2548  
 L. Ofell(ius) Apol. 1337  
 C. Olius 2184  
 L. Opeillius 1340 (cf. Münzer, *RE* 18, 539)  
 C. Oppius Felix 1341  
   Q. Oppius Iustus 1343. 1344  
     Q. Opp. Iust. 272. \*2486  
     Q. Op. Iustus 1046  
     Oppius Iustus 1342  
     Op. Iust. 363  
   Q. Oppius Natalis 1345. 1346  
   Q. Oppius Priscus 1347  
   Q. Oppius Proculus 364  
     Op. Procul. 363  
     Oppius Stabilis 706  
   Q. Oppius Terminalis 2476  
   Q. Oppius Verecundus 273. 1348. **351**  
   Q. Oppius Viientus *vel* Viens 1349  
 A. Orbius 2342  
 Ortensi-, Ortesi- v. Hortensi-  
 III (*scil.* tres) Ost(orii?) Sc(apu-  
   lae?) (?) 1393  
 C. Ostrius Serr(anus) **3** (cf. 1871)
- A. P. A. (*nisi legendum est* a p(ila) a(lta)) 100  
 Q. P. Anser v. Q. Pontidius Anser  
 P. P. B. 478. 479. 486. 498. 500. 501. **124** (cf. 486 b)  
 M. P. C. 893  
 Q. P. F. 1351  
 C. P. G. **138. 139** (cf. 2212). **140** (cf. 502 b). **141**  
 Q. P. G. (?) \*1984  
   P. Is. v. Plotia Isaurica  
   P. M. (?) 573  
 Q. P. M. v. Q. Pompeius Mammeius  
 Q. P. N. 1362  
 Q. P. P. v. Q. Perusius Pudens  
 S. P. S. 1352. \*1985 (cf. **352**). \*1986  
   P. Servandus (?) 1174  
 T. P. P(ublii) f(ilius) Tampil(us) 2377  
 L. L. P. V. (et?) Nitenti(orum?) 1482  
 Pa. Va. v. Palsenna Valens  
 Paccii **353** (cf. 2049)  
   L. Paccius Philetus 1353  
   M.' Paccius Verna **152**  
   Paccius Verna 532  
 Paed. Lup. v. Peducaeus Lupulus  
 Q. Paedinius Fad. 1354  
 Palsenna Valens 577 a  
   Pa. Va. 577 b  
 Papiriu(s) Car. **396** (cf. 1514)  
   Q. Papirius Figulus 1356  
     = Q. Figulus 1357  
 C. Pappius Vitalis 1179  
 Pass[ienius]? Rest[utus] \*1987  
   PASSENIA PETRONIA c(larissima) f(emina) 419



- Patricius 2477  
 Pedania Quintilla 643  
     Ped. Quin. 642  
     = Quintill. Saeniani (*uxor*)  
     644  
 Peduc(aeus) Lupul(us) 471. **119**  
     (Lup.)  
     Pedu. Lup. 1052, Paed. Lup.  
     244  
 Q. Perusius Pude(ns) 368  
     Q. P. P. 369  
 M. Pet. Mam. v. M. Pet(ronius)  
     Mam(ertinus)  
     Pet. Pro. *vel* Procu. v. Pet-  
     t(ius) Proculus  
     C. Pet. Tr., C. Petr. Tran. v. C.  
     Petr(onius) Tran.  
 T. Petisius Orpheus 2395  
 M. Petronius Celer 2478  
     L. Petronius Fuscus 2479  
     [M. Pet]ronius Leo **534**  
     = (*ante manumissionem*)  
     Leo ser. 2480  
 M. Pet(ronius) Mam(ertinus)  
     *idem ut videtur atque prae-*  
     *fectus praetorio sub Anto-*  
     *nino Pio (cf. RE 19, 1217 n.*  
     *44) 523*  
 PETRONII MAMER(TINVS)  
     et SEPTIM(IANVS), *nepo-*  
     *tes(?) eius qui praecedit,*  
     *consules a. 182 et 190 (cf.*  
     *A. Stein et W. Hoffmann, RE*  
     *19, 1218, 1224 n. 71, 1225, n.*  
     *72) 411 (cf. 2159)*  
 L. Petronius Princeps 2343  
 Q. Petronius Quetus 2478  
 PETRONIVS SEPTIM(IA-  
     NVS) v. PETRONII MA-  
     MER(TINVS) *cet.*  
 L. Petronius Tiro **535**  
     C. Petr(onius) Tran(quillus)  
     1228 (C. Pet. Tr. 1228 c)  
     M. Petronius Veteranus 2480<sup>add.</sup>  
     **535**  
     M. L. Petronii Veteranus et Tiro  
     **535**  
     Petronia Galla \*2481. **620**  
     (add.)  
 C. Pettius Agraecus 231  
     Pett(ius) Proclus 90 b (*cf. 31*)  
     Pet. Procu. 90 a (*cf. 30*)  
     Pet. Pro. 95  
     = Proclus **32**  
 Ph. Pup. 590  
 C. Pilius Iussa 2344  
 Pl. ? 2263. 2264 (?)  
     Pl. v. Plaetorius  
 C. Plaet(orius) Crust. 2185  
     C. Plaetor(ius) Iustian(us) 2260  
     (A.) PLAETORIVS NEPO(S),  
     *cos. suff. a. 119 1363*  
     Pl. Nep. 1364-1366  
     [Plaet?]or. Naepos 2387  
 L. Plautius 2261  
     M. Plaut(ius) (?) 2262  
     (L.) PLAVTIVS AQVILINVS,  
     *cos. a. 162 (v. ind. IV) 1368.*  
     1369 (Aquil.). 1370  
 L. Plotius Primus 2345  
     Sex. Plo(tius) Titia(nus) 748  
     Plotia (Servilia) Isaurica (*cf.*  
     *PIR III<sup>1</sup> 55 n. 399) 52. 58.*  
     59 (Isauri. 59 c.) 64. 67.  
     68 a. 339. **23** (*cf. 60*). **24**  
     (*cf. 64 b*)  
     Plot. Isaurica 63. 68 b-d  
     Plo. Isau. 54. 55  
     P. Is. 65. 66  
     = Isaur. 53  
     Plotia Phoebe 2346  
 L. Po. **360**  
     Sex. Po. v. Sex. Pompeius Heli.

- Publici- v. Publici-  
 L. Polius XIV S I, 5308, 32  
 Sex. Pom. Eli. v. Sex. Pompeius  
     Heli.  
     Q. Pom. Eupr. v. Q. Pom(p).  
         Eupr.  
         Pom. Fel. v. Pomp. Felix  
 Q. Pom(p). Eupr. 1045  
     Pomp. Felix 1301  
         Pom. Fel. 1058. 1059  
 Q. Pomp. Ian. vel Ianuar. v. Q.  
     Pomponius Ianuarius  
     Pomp. Maternus v. POM-  
     PONIVS MATERNVS  
     Pomp. Vita(lis) 455  
         Pomp. Vit. 453. 454  
 L. Pompeius Fortunatus 2347  
     Sex. Pompeius Heli(us?):  
         Ses. Pon. Eli. 758  
         Pompeius Heli. 757  
         SFX. (*sic*) Po. 400  
         Pompe(ius) Ianua(rius) 1060  
 M. PONPEIVS MACRI(NVS),  
     *cos. a. 164, v. ind. IV*  
     Pompeius Maginus 1371  
 Q. Q. Pompeii Mammeius et  
     Mammeianus 355  
 Q. Pompeius Mammeianus 1372  
     (*cf. 356*). 355  
 Q. Pompeius Mammeius 355.  
     1373  
     Q. P. M. 1372 (*cf. 356*)  
 Q. Pompe(ius) Pae. 531  
     Pompeius Rufio 1374  
     Pompeius . . . rlius (?) 538  
     Pompeia A[t]this 1140  
 Cn. Pompei(us?) Herm(es) 2265  
 T. Pomponius 1317  
     C. Pomponius Agatocles 2266  
     Pomponius Corvus vel Corvi-  
         nus 454  
     L. Pomponius Cresces 2441  
     Q. Pomponius Ianuar(ius) 808  
         Q. Pomp. Ianuar. 465. 578  
         (Ian.)  
 (Q.) POMP(ONIVS) MATER-  
     NVS, *cos. suff. a. 128, v. ind.*  
     IV  
 Q. PONPONIVS MVSSA, *cos.*  
     *suff. inter a. 151 et 160 (cf.*  
     *PIR II 117 n. 496)* 1375  
 T. Pompon(ius) Prim. 357  
     Pomp(onius?) Vita(lis) v.  
     Pomp. Vita(lis)  
 POMPONIA Q. f(ilia) BAS-  
     SILA (*cf. PIR III<sup>1</sup> 81 n.*  
     *575*) 1377  
     Pomp. Q. f. B. . . . 1378  
     Pompon. Bassil. 1376  
 A. Pon. Clodianus v. *infra in Pon-*  
     *tius*  
     Ses. Pon. Eli. v. Sex. Pompeius  
     Heli.  
     A. Pon. Fortuna. v. *infra in Pon-*  
         *tius*  
 Q. Pontidius Anser 1379 a  
     Q. P. Anser 1379 b (*cf. 358*)  
 A. Pont(ius) Clodian(us) 1023.  
     1039.  
     A. Pontius Clo . . . 276  
     A. Pon. Clod. 146  
 C. Pontius Crescens trib(unus)  
     coh(ortis) I pr(aetoriae)  
     1380  
     C. Pontius Crescens 1381  
 C. Pontius Felix 359 (Fel. 359 b,  
     F. 359 c)  
 A. Pon(tius) Fortuna(tus) 2348  
     Pont(ius) Long. 2189  
 M. PONTIVS SABINVS, *lega-*  
     *tus provinciae Thraciae sub*  
     *imp. Antonino Pio (cf. PIR*  
     *III<sup>1</sup> 84 n. 613)* 2187  
     Pontius Verus 1453  
 P. Pop. . . . \*1991  
     Pop. Eun. 591 (Eu. 591 c)

- Popilius Clemens 1382  
 duo Popilii Severus et Clemens 1382  
 C. Poppaeus Sabinus 2349  
 Porc(ius) Celer 2188  
 L. Postumius 1383 (L. Postu. 1383 c)  
 L. Po. (*si ad eundem pertinet*) 360  
 L. Postumius H. 361<sup>add.</sup>  
 C. PRAST(INA) PACAT(VS) (MESSALINVS), *cos. a. 147, v. ind. IV*  
 Prast. Pacat. 2189  
 Prastina M. . . . . 2190  
 Prast. Messalinus 435  
 Precilii 236  
 M. Procilius Meleager 1387 (*cf. 363*)  
 Procill(ia) Gemella 1302  
 Procilia Phila 301. 1217  
 C. Propertius Felix 2350  
 Q. Publ. 1388  
 Publ. Cresc(ens) 686 (*cf. 585*)  
 M. Publ. Crispus *vel* Crispinus 364  
 Publ. Hist. . 963  
 M. Publicius *v.* M. Publicius Sedatus  
 M. Publicius Aprio 1389  
 L. PVBLICIUS (*immo* PVBLI-LIVS) CELSVS, *cos. II a. 113, v. ind. IV*  
 Sex. Publicius Consors 102  
 S. Public. Consors 186  
 Publicius Consors 44. 46. 44 (*cf. 154*), Public. Consor. 45  
 [P]oblicius [Fe]lix 2186  
 M. Publicius Ianuarius 1390  
 M. Publicius Sedatus 637 (Sed.). 638  
 M. Publicius 639  
 Publicia Quintin(a) 761  
 L. PVPLILI(VS) CELSV(S) ite-r(um) *cos. (a. 113, v. etiam ind. IV) 438*  
 M. Publil(ius) Poti. 2267. 2268 (?)  
 (ALBIVS) PVLLAIEN(VS) POLLIO, *cos. suff. a. 90, 366 (cf. 1993)*  
 Pullaenius Pollio 365 (*cf. 2013*)  
 M. Pupius 2195  
 M. Pupius Antio(chus) 2191 (*potest idem esse is qui praecedit*)  
 . . . . .pius Antiochus \*1979 (*si ad eundem pertinet*)  
 T. Q. Graphicus 1994  
 [Qui?]nctil(ius) Nom. (*nisi fragmentum est tituli n. 682*) 2390  
 Sex. Quinc(tius) *vel* A. Sex(tilius) Quinc(tianus) ? 2272  
 T. Quinctius Phileros 1392. 367  
 T. Quinctius Suavis 2269  
 Qurtius *v.* Curtius  
 M. R. A. *vel* M. R. Apol. 16  
 R. C. 206 = R. Cap. 683  
 D. R. D. 456. 457. 458. 459. 117 (*cf. 460*)  
 R. Fel. *v.* Ruf(ellius) Fel.  
 M. R. L. *vel* M. R. Lupus *v.* M. Rutilius Lupus  
 R. P. *v.* Rufel(lius) Pil.  
 T. R. P. *v.* T. Rausius Pamphilus  
 R. P. T. 1394  
 L. R. Sos. *v.* L. Ru. Sosia  
 T. R. Tr. (?) 1480  
 S. R. V. (?) 1403  
 C. Rabirius et Sex. 1395  
 C. Rabirius Tiburtinus 1396. 1397. 368 (Tiburtin.)  
 P. Raius Ryt. 822

- Rasinius Ponticus 2449 (*cf.* 538)  
 T. Rau(sius) One(simus) *vel* Tra-  
   v(ius) One(simus) 485  
   T. Rausius Pamphilus 67. 68. 84.  
     (Pamphi.). 101 (Pamphil.)  
     T. Rau. Pamp. 65. 66  
     T. R. P. 85. 86. 102 (*cf.* 34).  
       524 (?). 28  
     Rausius Primus 536  
 M. REBVLVS APRONIANVS,  
   *cos. a. 117, v. ind. IV*  
 T. Remmius Apollonius 451 (*cf.*  
   2270)  
 S. Rod. Mari. *vel* S. Rodmarius  
   1399  
 L. Roscius Apol. 1400 (*cf.* 593)  
   P. Roscius Aprilis 1401  
     Roscius Roscianus 351  
 L. Ru. Sosia 986 a  
   L. R. Sosia 985. 986 b. c.  
     487 (Sos.)  
 L. Rubrius C . . . . 1996  
   L. Rubrius Martialis 1402  
     Rubria 438. 668  
 Ruf(ellius) Fel(ix) 29  
   R. Fel. 89  
   Rufel(lius) Pil. 88  
   R. P. 89  
   C. Rufellius Verecundus 330  
 Rufenus Celer 539  
   II (*scil. duo*) Rufeni Celer et  
     Pollio 539  
   Rufenus Pollio 539  
   L. Rufenus Proculus 2488. 540  
     (*cf.* 2487)  
 L. Rufius . . . . ul. \*2191  
 A. Runtius Felix 423 (*cf.* 108)  
 RVPILLIA FAVSTI[NA], *uxor*  
   *M. Annii Veri, cos. III a.*  
   126 (*cf. PIR I 119 n. 695*)  
   457 (*cf.* 576)  
   Rup. Faust. 456  
 Rustius Felix 422  
   L. Rustius Lygdam(us) 1418.  
     1419. 541  
   L. Rustius A. f(ilius) M. *vel* Ma.  
     2489  
 RVTILIVS CRISPINVS *idem at-*  
   *que* RVTILIVS PVDENS  
   CRISPINVS, *cos. suff. pau-*  
   *lo ante a. 238 (cf. Groag,*  
   *Reichsbeamten von Achaia,*  
   1939, 92; *Stein, Hermes*  
   *LXV(1930), 228-234*) 2192.  
   619 (*add.*)  
 C. Rutilius Felix 2193. 2194  
 M. Rutilius Lupus, *praef. Aegypti*  
   *a. 113-117 (cf. BL III*  
   *184-188 [316-320])* 9 =  
   (*nomine eraso*) 32  
   M. R. Lupus 18. 26  
   M. R. L. 19-25. 21 (*cf.* 4).  
   27. 30. 348. 5-8. 10  
   M. Rutilius (*nisi legendum*  
   *est M. Rutilius T.*) 28  
   Rut. Lup. 31  
   = Lupus 29. 344. 345  
   Rutilius Successus 134. 135.  
     43  
 M. Rutilius T. (*v. etiam* M. Ru-  
   tilius Lupus) 28  
 Rutilia L. f(ilia) Ocrati (*uxor*)  
   665  
   Rutilia 1242 (= 2456).  
   2195. \*542  
 Q. S. E. \*1997  
   L. S. F. 617  
   P. S. F. 62 (*cf.* 281 b) (?)  
   P. S. F. v. P. Servilius Firmus  
   P. S. L. 281 a (?)  
   [C. S.] . . . . ius M. 455  
   C. S. M. 2351  
   T. S. M., T. S. M. S., T. S. M.  
   S. H. v. T. STATILIVS

- MAXIMVS SEVERVS HADRIANVS  
 C. S. N. 2364  
 S. P. **38** = S. Priscus **37**  
 Q. S. P. v. Q. SERVILIUS PV-  
 DENS  
 C. S. R. 2365  
 S. S. 645  
 T. S. S., T. S. Severus v. T. STA-  
 TILIVS (MAXIMVS) SE-  
 VERVS  
 Q. S. Scafa pr(ocurator) Au-  
 g(usti) 705  
 C. S. T. 2366  
 Q. S. T. 2368  
 S. S. T. *vel* S. St. 770  
 T. Sabidius Certus 2491  
 T. Sabidius Parhasius 2492  
 Sabidia T. f(ilia) Procula 2493  
 C. Sabin. Com. **369**  
 Sabinia Ingenua 203  
 = Ingenua 205  
 Sabina Sabinilla 354  
 Saen(ius) Victor **105**  
 L. Sal . . . 2494  
 L. Sallivius Felix 1405  
 Salvius Anteros 1406  
 SAL(VIVS IVLIANVS), *cos.*  
*a. 148, v. ind. IV*  
 L. Samius 1407  
 L. Samius Faustus 1408  
 Samn(ius) Gallus 1409  
 Sammius Gallus **371**  
 L. Samnius Plocamus 1410  
 T. Sarius **594**. *Idem fortasse:*  
 T. Sarius Secundus 347  
 T. Satilius Maximus v. T. STATI-  
 LIVS MAXIMVS  
 C. Satriniius 1411. **80**. \***543**. **544**  
 C. Sat[rini]us Ađşeş . . . *vel*  
*potius* C. Sat[rini]us \***543**  
 C. Satriniius Atimetus *vel* *potius*  
 C. Satriniius 1411. **544**  
 C. Satriniius Auctus *vel* *potius* C.  
 Satriniius **80**  
 [C.] Satriniius C. . **548**  
 C. Satriniius Celer 141. 303. \*304.  
 305. 388. **545**. \***546**. **547**  
 (Cel.)  
 C. Satriniius Clemens 384 (*cf.*  
**96**)  
 C. Satriniius Communis 306 a.  
 307. 308 (= **549**). **78** (*cf.*  
 309). **550**. **573**. \***574**.  
 C. Satriniius Communi. 306 b.  
 (Commu.). **77** (*cf.* 306 c;  
*vel* Commun.). **79**  
 C. Satriniius (*si ad eundem*  
*pertinet*) **80**  
 Satriniius Fortunatus 110  
 C. Satriniius Priscinus 1412. **372**  
 (Prisci.)  
 M. Saufeius 2352  
 L. Saufeius L. f(ilius) Aim(ilia  
*scil. tribu*) Niger **373** (*cf.*  
 1413)  
 Sax. Ap. 2209  
 Sax. Po. 2210. **251** (P.)  
 Q. Sc. P. p(ater?) 1414  
 Scantia Constantis (*uxor*) XIV S I,  
 5308, 34  
 P. Scrib(oni)us du[ovir] *Praeneste*  
 2293  
 T. Seius Laut(us) **374**  
 C. Seius Primus 1417  
 Flavia Seia Isaurica (*cf. RE* 6,  
 2737 n. 245) 1422  
 Seia Isaurica 11. 49. 421.  
 1421. 1423-1425. \*2000.  
 \***378**  
 Seia Isauric. 208. 1420. **375**  
 (*cf.* 2034)  
 Seia Isaur. 12, Seia Isau.  
**377**



- Sei. Isaur. 207. 674  
 Sei. Isau. 652, Se. Is. 1418  
 = Isaur. 50  
 Sen. Satr. v. Sent(ius) Satrinus  
 T. Sentidius Priscus 2353  
 Sentidius Tyranus **456**  
 Sent. Sat. *vel* Satr. v. Sentius  
 Satrinus  
 C. Sentius Hilarus 1426  
 Sentius Satrianus (*non diversus videtur ab eo qui sequitur*) \*2001  
 Ti. Tutinius Sent(ius) Satrinus  
 108. **39** (*cf.* 109)  
 Ti. Tutinius S. S. 105  
 Ti. Sentius Satrin(us) 104  
 Sentius Satrianus (*si ad eundem pertinet*) \*2001  
 Sent. Satr. 103. 107 (Sat.)  
 Sen. Satr. 1427  
 Sep . . . . \*2003  
 P. C. Q. Septicii 2385  
 C. Seppitimus Aug. 1428  
 C. Septumius Ruf. **441**  
 Septimia **449** (*cf.* 2241)  
 Ser. Firm. v. P. Servilius Firmus  
 Ser. Mas. (?) **297**  
 Ser. Modes(tus) 1062  
 Q. Ser. Pud. v. Q. SERVILIVS  
 PVDENS  
 SERGIA PAVLINA *uxor Cn. Corneli Severi, consulis suff. a. 112 (v. supra) (cf. PIR II 361 n. 1453)* **147**, Serg. Paul. 516  
 Servilius Capito 532  
 P. Servilius Firmus 232 (Fyrmus). 605 (= **178**). 1425  
 P. S. F. 604 (= **171**)  
 Servilius Firmus 233. **174**  
 Servilius Firm. 606  
 Serv. Fyrmus **172. 173**  
 Serv. Firm. 1456. **176** (*cf.* 614)  
 Ser. Fir. **177** (*cf.* 234)  
 = Fyr(mus) **175**  
 Servilius Fortunatus 292  
 L. Servi(lius?) *vel potius* Servi(us) Fortunatus 1442  
 Servi(lius?) *vel potius* Servi(us) Fulvus 1184  
 Ti. (*om.* 50) Servilius Gelos 50. 51  
 Servilius Processus 142  
 Q. SERV(ILIVS) PVDENS, *legatus, amicus Plinii, pater consulis a. 166 (cf. PIR IIF 228 n. 423)* 349  
 Q. Serv. Pud. 1431. **90** (*cf.* 346). \***379**  
 Q. Ser. Pudens 1434  
 Q. Ser. Pud. 350. 1430. 1432. 1435-1438  
 Q. S. P. 1429. 1439-1441. \***380. 381**  
 Pudens Ser. 1433  
 Servilius Stator 2196  
 Servil(ia) Secundill(a) 1127 (Secun.). **382**  
 L. Servi(us) *vel* Servi(lius?) Fortunatus 1442  
 Servi(us) *vel* Servi(lius?) Fulvus 1184  
 L. Sessius Speratus 1443  
 L. Sessius Successus 420 (*cf.* **107**). 1180  
 L. SESTIVS P. f(ilius) ALB(ANIVS?) QVIRINALIS, *cos. a. 23 a. C. (cf. Hor., carm. I 4, 14; RE II A, 1885 n. 3)* 1445 a  
 L. Sestius Alb. Quirinalis 1445 b  
 L. Sextius Al. Quirinalis 1445 c

- L. Sestius 1444, Sex. Qui.  
1446  
C. Seterius Acastus 1447  
Sex. 1395  
Sex. Qui. v. L. SESTIVS  
Sex. Quinc. 2272  
L. Sextilius Primigenius 2273  
L. Sextilius Rufus 1449  
Sextius v. Sestius  
Q. Si. Nam. *vel* Q. Sin. Am. 33  
M. Sici(nius) 2354  
T. Silius T. f(ilius) 2495  
T. Sossius Ianuarius 293  
Spurilia Flori (*uxor*) 666  
S. St. *vel* S. S. T. 770  
L. St. Quadr. = L. ST(ATIVS)  
QVADR(ATVS), *cos. a.*  
142, v. *ind. IV*  
St. Sev. v. T. STATILIVS  
SEVERVS  
Statil(ius) Comicus 242<sup>add.</sup>  
T. Statilius Eutychus 2274  
T. STATIL(IVS) MAX(IMVS)  
SEV(ERVS) HAD(RIA-  
NVS), *cos. suff. a. 115 (cf.*  
*BL II 177 [181]) 41*  
T. Stat. Max. Severus Hadr.  
1452  
T. S. M. S. Hadr. 15 (*cf.*  
39)  
T. S. M. S. H. 99 (*cf.* 396).  
100. 101  
T. Statilius Maximus Seve-  
rus 292, T. S. M. Severus  
1453. \*1454. 1455 (Sever.)  
T. Satil. (*sic*) Maximus 299  
T. Stat. Maxim. 290. 1457  
T. S. M. 289  
T. S. Severus 18, T. S. S. 17  
Statil. Maxim. Sever. Hadri-  
an. 16  
Stat. Maxim. Severus Had-  
rian. 40  
Statilius Maximus 298. 1458.  
1459  
Statil. Maxim. 288 (Max.).  
293. 297 b, Stati. Maxim.  
297 a. 1456, Sta. Maximus  
300  
Statil. Sever. Hadrian. 38  
Stat. Severus Hadrianus 14  
(*cf.* 287)  
Statilius Severus 69 (*cf.*  
286)  
Stat. Sev. 1451. 19, St. Sev.  
20  
= Hadrianus Severus 572  
(*cf.* 294)  
= Hadrianus 295. 70 (*cf.*  
291)  
= Hadr. 296  
Statilia Sp. f(ilia) Lysis 474  
Statius v. Statius Marcius *cet.*  
C. Statius Capito, *idem videtur at-*  
*que* C. STATIVS CAPITO  
ARRIANVS (*cf. RE 3 A,*  
2216 n. 6) 2197  
= Capito 2200  
C. Statius Comolvis 2200  
L. ST(ATIVS) QVADRATVS,  
*cos. a. 142, v. ind. IV*  
Statia Primilla 140  
Stat. Primul(a) 139  
Stat. Prim. 630  
Sertinia Bassula *eadem quae ple-*  
*nius nominatur in titulo At-*  
*tidiat* XI 5672 Sertinia  
L. f. Cocceia Bassula Venecia  
Aeliana (*cf. PIR II 322 n.*  
1363) 2202 (Bassulla).  
2203<sup>add.</sup> 2204 (Bassul.).  
2205  
Sert. Bassull. 2201  
Q. Sulpicius \*1460. 1461  
Q. Sulp. Aphy. 284  
Ser. Sulp. Atticus 551



- C. Sulpicius Felix 1462  
 Serg(ius) Sulpicius Servandus  
 137  
 Sulpic. Servand. 136
- M. T. v. M. Tarqui[tius]  
 P. T. E. 342  
 T. Felix 2371 a  
 T. G. (v. Turr. Gal.) 503  
 (= 136). 137  
 L. T. L. 2158 (cf. 410)  
 Gn. T. M. 2276  
 P. T. N. XIV S I, 5308, 35  
 Q. T. S. 2369  
 T. Te. *vel* T. T. v. Trebicia  
 Tertulla  
 T. Te. 138  
 T. T. 498. 500-502 a\*. 503  
 (= 136). 137. 139. 140  
 (cf. 502 b). 141. 142
- A. Taedius Fortunatus 1463  
 C. Tappurius II vir *Praeneste* 2295  
 L. Tarquitius 1464, L. Tarq. 384  
 M. Tarqui[tius] = M. T. 2355  
 cf. \*2374?  
 L. Tarquitius Eros 1465  
 L. Tarquit(ius) Mam. 385  
 C. Tarr. Titian(us) 1466  
 Ter. v. Terentius  
 M. Tere(ntius) Cl. II [vir]  
*Praeneste* 2296  
 Terentius Iulian(us) 1468  
 Ter(entius) Ph. (?) 590  
 M. Terentius Praenest(inus)  
 2356  
 C. Terentius Suavis 1469  
 Terenti(us) Sulpic(ianus)  
 1470  
 C. Ter(entius) Tit(ianus) 769  
 Tetellius Don. 713  
 L. Tetius 552  
 P. Tettius L. f(ilius) 1471. 1472  
 L. Tettius Balbus 553
- T. Tettius Barbarus 386 (=554)  
 [T.] Tettius Restitut[us] 555  
 C. Titienus C. f(ilius) Florus 2499.  
 2500  
 Sex. Titienus Sp. f(ilius) Col(li-  
 na *scil. tribu*) Sextio 1474  
 M. Titinius 1475. 387  
 L. Titinius Glaucus Lucretianus  
 (cf. RE 6 A, 1551 n. 22)  
 2207 (cf. 442)  
 M. Titius Marcellus 1476  
 Titia Quartilla 1477. 1478  
 (Quart.)  
 Titia Rufina 774  
 L. Tonneius Dio. . . . \*199  
 Tonnei(us?) Dionysius 632  
 C. Toneius Quadratus 202 (cf.  
 1846)  
 Tontius Barbarus 380  
 Tontius Felix 1147  
 C. L. Tossieis C. f(ili) 2501  
 (= 1479)  
 C. Tossius C. l(ib.) 2501  
 (= 1479)  
 Sex. Tossius L. f(ilius) 504  
 Tos. Sex. 553  
 Q. Tossius Cimber 2502  
 Q. Tossius Clarus 556 (cf. 2503)  
 Q. Tossius Ingenuus 2504. 557  
 (Incenuus)  
 \*Q. Tossius Iustus (?) 2505  
 Q. Tossius Priscus 558 (cf. 2506)  
 Q. Tossius Proculus 2507  
 Tr. Tr. (?) 1480  
 . . . Traqu. (*immo* . . Tarqu.?)  
 \*2374  
 T. Travius Felix 235  
 Travius Felix 338; *alius*:  
 383  
 T. Travius Fortu(natus) 297  
 Trav(ius) *vel* T. Rau(sius)  
 One(sinus) 485

- C. Treb. Planta II vir *Praeneste* 2294  
 C. Trebatius Salassus 1481  
 Q. Trebicius 2218  
     Trebicia Tertulla 524  
     Treb. 525 a, Tre. 525 b. c  
     *eadem ut videtur:*  
     T. Te. 138  
     T. T. 498. 500-502 a\*. 503  
     (= 136). 137. 139. 140. (cf.  
     502 b). 141. 142 (*hunc titu-*  
     *lum ad eandem pertinere*  
     *pro certo habendum est*)  
 Tuc(cius) Ruf. (?) 684  
 Tul. Gal. (*immo* Tur. Gal.) \*1834  
 M. Tullius 2277  
 L. Turr(anus) Gal. 498  
     Tur. Gal. 592. \*1834 (?)  
     T. G. (*si ad eundem perti-*  
     *net*) 503 (= 136). 137  
     Tur(ranus) Pri. 135  
     Tur. Pr. 499  
 L. Tut. Ianuarius 2158 (cf. 410)  
 L. TVTILIVS PONTIANVS, *cos.*  
     a. 135 388 (cf. 2052) (v.  
     *etiam ind. IV*)  
 Ti. Tutinius Sent(ius) Satrinus v.  
     Sentius Satrinus  
  
 L. V. A. = L. V(ENVLEIVS)  
     A(PRONIANVS), *cos. a.*  
     123, v. *ind. IV*  
     . . . V. C. 2006  
     A. V. E. (?) 313  
     L. V. F. 2370  
         V. N. 539. 540 (cf. 153)  
     L. V. N. 443  
     S. V. N. [*fortasse* S(ex.) V(is-  
         matius) N(eritus)] 42  
     M. V. Politicus 1483  
     M. V. S. (?) *vel* M. Us. 681  
 Val. Vir. Ves. [*fortasse* Val(eria)  
     vir(go) Ves(talis)] 1487  
  
 L. Valerius Alcimus 389  
     M. Vale[rius] A[m]phion 2278  
     VALERIVS ASIATICVS, *cos.*  
         II a. 125, v. *ind. IV*  
     L. Val(erius) Cate. *vel* Caet.  
         1484  
     Q. Valerius Cato 2508 (*ubi er-*  
         *rore legitur* Cao)  
         [Q. Val]erius Cato \*82. \*83  
     Valerius Catullus 416. 419  
         (Val.)  
     C. Valerius Firmus 1274  
 C. VALERIVS FLAC. IVLIVS  
     VRSVS *vel* L. V(RSVS)  
     VAL. v. L. IVLIVS VRSVS  
     VALERIVS FLAC.  
     (M.) VAL(ERIVS) HOM(VL-  
         LVS), *cos. a. 152* (cf. *PIR*  
         III<sup>a</sup> 358 n. 61) 2208 (v.  
         *etiam ind. IV*)  
     M. Valerius Iulianus 740  
     Valerius Iuncus 1485  
     M. Valerius Peplus 2279  
     M. Valerius Priscus 702. 1367  
         Valerius Priscus 1366  
     L. Valerius Severus 151. 152. 153  
     Q. Val(erius) Turpio 1486  
         Valeria Nice 692 (Valer.) 693.  
         694  
         Valeria Poll(a) (cf. *PIR III*<sup>1</sup>  
         382 n. 164) 235  
         Valeria M. f(ilia) Urbica 1488  
 L. Vallius Proclus 714. \*213  
 M. Vargun(teius) 1490  
 [M. ?] T. Varieni 1491  
     M. Varienus 559  
     M. Varenus Aprilis 560  
     M. Varien(us) (M. f.?) Cle-  
         m(ens) \*2280  
     M. Varienu(s) Cresces 561  
         = (*ante manumissionem*)  
         Crescens M. Varieni Iucundi  
         v. *ind. II*

- M. Varien(us) Iucundus 964  
 (= 562)  
 Varius Roman(us) 676  
 C. Vaternius Capito 390  
 P. Vedius Honesi(mus) 595 (*cf.*  
 2048)  
 Vedius O. 1492 (*cf.* 596)  
 Velicius *vel* Vellicius *v.* Bellicius  
 L. Vennonius Hilarus 1493  
 Sex. Ventidius Hermeros 1494  
 L. VENVLEIVS APRONIANVS,  
*cos. a. 123, v. ind. IV*  
 Veratius Modes(tus) 1459  
 M. Verrius (Sax.?) 2209  
 M. Ver. (Sax.?) 2210  
 L. Vesidius Receptus 353  
 P. Vettius Antullus Flavianus 392  
 (*cf.* 1497)  
 C. Vettius Comicus 857  
 L. Vettius Epaphroditus XIV S I,  
 5308, 40  
 T. Vettius Fuscus 1498 (= 2510)  
 C. Vettius Iucundus 617 (*add.*)  
 Vettius Magnus 680  
 Sex. Vetulenus Thelcon 834  
 D. Veturius Cerdo 802. 803. 114  
 (Ce. . .)  
 D. Veturius Ce. 1496 (Ve-  
 trius). \*391, D. Veturius 804  
 Veturius Seve(rus) 400 (*cf.*  
 1526)  
 Vi. Pud. *v.* Vibius Pudes  
 P. *vel* D. Viben(nus) Fruc(tus)  
 1499  
 C. Vibius . . . . . 2281  
 Vibius Aiagianus 1500. 1503.  
 1504  
 Aiacia. 393  
 Sex. Vibius Ari. 208  
 C. Vibius Crescens 565  
 C. Vibius Donatus 1505. 1506.  
 2511. 2512. 563  
 C. Vibius Eclec[tus] 1507  
 C. Vibius Faventinus 2439  
 C. Vibius Fortunatus 564 (For-  
 tunat.). 565  
 = (*ante manumissionem*)  
 Fortunatus ser. (C. Vibi  
 Donati) 2512  
 Vibius Pudes 41, Vi. Pud. 182.  
 183  
 Q. Vibius Serv. 872  
 L. Vibius Tec . . . 1508  
 Vib(ius) Ver(na) 222  
 Vibia 200. 49  
 Vibia Procill(a) 1468  
 Vibia Procla 1147  
 L. Vibulen(us) 1509  
 L. Vibull(ius) Succes(sus) 805  
 Viccius 1511  
 C. Viccius 1510. 394. 395  
 C. Vicius 1512 (C. Vic. 1512  
 b)  
 Q. Vicius 1513  
 A. VICIRIVS MARTIA(LIS),  
*cos. suff. a. 98 (cf. Année*  
*ép. 1940, 33 n. 93) 396 (cf.*  
*1514)*  
 A. Vil(lius) Alex(ander) 560  
 Villius Alexander 561  
 Vil(lius) Aug. 562  
 C. Villius Cres(cens) 593  
 Vil(lius) Ulp(ianus) 18  
 Vim., Vimatius *v.* Vismatius  
 M. Vinicius Crescens 1527. 1528  
 M. Vinic(ius) Fortunat(us)  
 1414  
 M. Vinic. Fortun. 13  
 M. Vin(icius) Herculan(us)  
 1529 a  
 Vinicius Hercul. 1529 b  
 M. Vinicius Pantagatus 159. 564  
 (Pantagat.)  
 M. Vinic. Pantag. 563 a-k  
 ([P]antg. 563 c. d). r

- M. Vini. Pantaga. 563 m-q  
 Vinicius P . . . . 563 l  
 Vin. Pan. 565  
 = Pantag. 566
- M. Vinic[ius] Salvian[us] \*594  
 Vinicius Salvian(us) 595 a  
 Vin. Sal. 595 b
- Vimatius [C]rescens 2497  
 Vim. Crescens 407  
 Vismatius Feli(x) 401 (*cf.*  
 1525)  
 Vis. Felix 31  
 Vismat(ius) Fortu(natus) 180  
 Vis. For. 607. 179. 181  
 = (*ante manumissionem*)  
 Fortunatus 1521
- Sex. Vimatius Hinierus (*immo*  
 Himerus) 1517  
 Sex. Vism. Himer. 192 (*cf.*  
 640)
- Sex. Vism(atius) Neritus 644  
*idem fortasse*: S. V. N. 42
- Sex. Vimatius Restitutus 730  
 Vism(atius) Successus 1518.  
 1519. 1521. 1522. 1523. 397.  
 (Succes.). 398. 399 (*cf.*  
 1520, 1524). 400 (*cf.* 1526).  
 401 (*cf.* 1525)  
 Bism. Suc. 402
- Vis. v. Vismatius
- L. Vitellius Aristo 1532 (*cf.* 403).  
 403
- VITRASIVS POLLIO *idem atque*  
 T. POMPONIVS PROCV-  
 LVS VITRASIVS POLLIO,  
*cos. II a. 176, maritus*  
 (ANNIAE) FVNDANIAE  
 FAVSTINAE (*v. supra*)  
 (*cf. PIR III<sup>1</sup> 78 n. 558*) 520
- Q. Viv. . . . Mag (??) \*2357
- P. Ulpus Aelian(us) 540 (*cf.* 153)  
 Ulpus Anicetianus 719 (Anicetianus). 1088 (Anicetian.). 1089 (Anicetia.). 1533. 332  
 (*cf.* 2009)  
 Ulp. Anic. 1086, Ul. Anic. 1263
- M. Ulpus Anicetus 472  
 Ulpus Anicetus 473  
 Ulpus Bithynicus XIV S I, 5308, 41  
 Ulpus Cornelianus 579
- M. Ulpus Successus 596 a  
 M. Ulp. Successus 596 b  
 M. Ulp. Succes. 596 c
- M. Ulp(ius) Ulpianus 143 (*cf.*  
 1812)  
 Ulp. Ulpian. 504-508. 580  
 (*cf.* 509) (Ulpianus)  
 Ulpia Accepta 1534
- C. Ummidius Alexander 2358  
 (M.) VM(M)IDIVS QVADRA-  
 TVS, *maritus* ANNIAE  
 (CORNIFICIAE) FAV-  
 STINAE (*v. ind. III*) (*cf.*  
*PIR III<sup>1</sup> 469 n. 601*) 731  
 (Umi. Quad. 731 b)
- Voconius 1535  
 . . Volu. Procul. \*739
- C. Voluntilius Q. f(ilius) Varus  
 II vir iter(um), cur(ator)  
 aed(ium) sacr(arum) *Præ-*  
*neste* 2297. \*2298
- L. Volusius Hymnus 404  
 L. Volusius Phasis 1536  
 = L. Fasis 405
- Ursii 444
- A. X. *vel* a X. 520  
 . . . . . a C. f(ilia) Paul(lina *vel*  
 -la) 2050  
 . . . . . asius [A]pollophan(es)  
 2389  
 . . . . . atius Fortunatus 2044  
 . . . . . ic. Pe. . 408

tres . . . . icii 378  
 . . . . lius Ianuarius 1454  
 . . . . nius Phoebus 703  
 . . . ntilius Pecu . . . 2051

. . . . . us P. f(i)lius) . . . . .  
 [II] vir *Praeneste* 2298  
 \*M. . . . ucul. Euc. 739  
 . . . . . ulius Philargur[us] 2285

## II

## COGNOMINA VIRORUM ET MULIERUM

A. 1533. [100? 937? 1433. 514]  
 A. v. Alexander, Amandus, Am-  
 pliatus, Anicetus, Apol., Aprilis  
 Abascantus 379. [877. \*878. 1142.  
 1143]  
 Abasc(antus) Aug. 1(ib.) 569  
 Abascantus duor. Domitiorum  
 988  
 = Abascantus Cn. Domiti Tro-  
 phimi 1115 (*cf.* 287). 1116  
 Abdas [779]  
 †Abundantius 1676  
 Acanthus [1271]  
 Acastus [1447]  
 Accepta [1534]  
 Achoristus [899]  
 Acil. v. ATILIANVS  
 Actus *cf.* 465  
 Adiec(tus) [1021]  
 Adiutor 506 *ser.* [67]  
 Adiutor Aug. 1(ib). 777  
 Adrianu(s) v. Hadrianus  
 Ađşęş . . . \*543  
 Aeliana [1134]  
 AELIAN(VS) 434  
 Aelian(us) [540 (*cf.* 153)]  
 Aepagathus v. Epagathus  
 Aeron [2326]  
 AFER [980. 982. 266. 486 a]. Af.  
 [265.<sup>add.</sup> 486 b]  
 Aga. [925]  
 Agat. v. Agathysus

Agatha *vel* Agathae(merus) [2331]  
 Agathemerus [909. 1243]. Agathae-  
 (merus) *vel* Agatha [2331]  
 Agathobulus [274. 275. 276 (Aga-  
 thob.). 1106 (b=2417). 1107.  
 1108]  
 Agathobulus Domiti Tulli 258.  
 259. 1002. 1003  
 = Agathobulus Domitiae Lucil-  
 lae 263. 264. 1008  
 Agatocles [2266]  
 Agathysus Aug. lib. 462. 463. 466  
 (Agatursus 466 a). 467 (Aga-  
 tysus). 468. 469. 470. Agat.  
 Aug. l. 464. 465. 578. Agat.  
 461  
 Agraecus [231]  
 Aiagianus [1500. 1503. 1504].  
 Aiacia. 393  
 Albana [1217]. Alb. [1214-1216.  
 322]  
 ALB(ANIANVS?) [1445]  
 Albanus [785? 1167. 1168. 314]  
 Alcimus [389]  
 Alcis 786  
 Alexander 787. 1208. [171. 558.  
 561. 1320. 2165. 2358. 158.  
 417]. Alex. [172. 560. 1319  
 (Alexd.). 1321. 54]. A. [93].  
 Alexsander [717]. Alexsad.  
 [173]  
 Alex(ander) Falerni C. Iuli Hilli



- (*servi vicarius*) XIV S I, 5308, 28  
 Am. *vel* Nam. [33]  
 Amanda [192-196]  
 Amandus [98. 111. 1097 (f=2433). 285]. Am. [99]. A. [104. 1097 b]  
 Amarantus [911. 912]. Amar. [911 d]  
 Amb. [583]  
 AMBIBVLVS, *cos. a. 126, v. ind. IV*  
 Amerumnus [2172]  
 Amoenus [1100]  
     = Amoenus d(uorum) D(omitiorum) Lucani et Tulli 116  
 Amphion [2278]  
 Ampliatus [518. 519 (Amp.). 586? (A.). 1191 (cf. 592). 1192. 1522 (Amplia.)]  
     Ampliatus vic(arius) 537  
 Amylla *v.* Hamilla  
 An(. . . . . anus)? *agnomen servi* 418  
 Anice. [547. 685]  
 Anicetianus 322. [719 (Anecetianus). 1088. 1089 (Anicetia.). 1533. 332 (cf. 2009)]. Anic. [1086. 1263]  
 Anicetus [472. 473]  
     Anicetus Domitio(rum) 990  
         = Anicetus Domitiae P. f. Lucillae 1026 = Anicetus Domit. Lucill. 266 = A(nicetus) D(omitiae) L(ucillae) s(ervus) 265  
 Anigno(tus) (*immo* Arignotus) [1024]  
 Anser [1379 (cf. 358)]  
 Ant. 432  
 Anteros [1406. XIV S I, 5308, 11]  
     Anteros Severi(anus) Caesaris n(ostri) (*servus*) 811 a-c =  
         Anteros Severi. Cae. 811 d-f = Anteros Caes. n(ostri) ser(vus) 810 = Anteros Caes(saris) 812. 813 (Cae.)  
 Anthus \*1491. 2470  
 Antigonus [1262]  
 Antimachus [778. 1202]  
     Antimachus Cl(audi) Ionici Caesaris Augusti l(iberti) (*servus*) 814  
 Antiochus [698. 700. 894. 2191 (Antio.). 2443 (= 1161 = 300) (Antioc.). \*203 (cf. 672)].  
 Antiocus [1979. 187 (cf. 2036)]  
 M. Anthiocus 438  
 Antiochus Curti 966 b = Anthiocu(s) Curti 966 a = Antiocus Curti 966 c. d  
 Antiocus Fulvi M. ser. 299  
 Antioc(hus) Tos(si) Sex(ti) (*servus*) 553  
 Antonia [415. 430 (*gen. Antoniaes*)]  
 ANTONINVS *v. ind. III*  
 Antullus Flavianus [392 (cf. 1497)]  
 Ap. 565 a. [2209]  
 Apelles [*gen. Apellet(is)*] 2201  
     Apelles Statil(i) Comici 242<sup>add.</sup>  
     Apelles Stertinae Bassullae ser. 2202  
 APER, *cos. a. 130, v. ind. IV*  
 APER [209. 210. 422. 653. 1144-1148]  
 Aph. [510]  
 Aphrodisius [795]  
 Apo. *v.* Apollonius  
 Apol. [16 (*vel* A.). 1337. 1400. 316. 504]  
 Apoll. [2304]  
 Apollinaris \*661 c (Apolinaris 661 a. b). [1203. 2448]

- Apollonius **227** (*cf.* 1880). **534** *ser.*  
**620** (*add.*) *ser.* [1320. 1322  
 (Apo.). **451** (*cf.* 2270)]  
 Apol(lonius) Ant(oni) L. s(er.)  
 824  
 Apollonius Anton(i) M. s(er.)  
**446** (*cf.* 2227) (Apol.). **447**  
 (*cf.* 2228)  
 Apollonius et Ismarus Cn. Cn.  
 Domitiorum **268** (= **489**)  
 Apollonius Domiti Lupi 2246  
 Apolonius N(aevi) C. s(er.) 1321  
 [Apol]onius C. Naevi C. l(ib.)  
*vel* Cl. 1978  
 . . . . asius [A]pollophan(es)  
 2389  
 Aprilis 258. 259. **280. 590** s(er.).  
 [358. 359. 360 (Apr.). 361.  
 362. 626. 1065 (A.). 1066.  
 1067 (Apr.). 1068 (A.). 1109.  
 1110. 1401. **560**]  
 Aprilis Agathobuli Domitiae Lu-  
 cillae 1008  
 = Aprilis Cn. Domiti Agathobuli  
 1106 (b = 2417)  
 Aprilis Aquiliae Sozomen(ae)  
 709  
 Aprio [1247. 1389]  
 Apro 827  
 APRONIANVS [2164 *bis*]; *v.*  
*etiam ind. IV, a. 117 et 123*  
 Aphy. [284]  
 AQVILINVS [1368. 1369 (Aquil.).  
 1370]; *v. etiam ind. IV a. 125*  
*et 162*  
 Arabus *ser.* 1440  
 Arescusa [1141 (Ares.). 2226.  
 2541]  
 Arginn . . . Antoni . . . 2229  
 Ari. [208]  
 Arignotus [1094. 1094 g (= **500**).  
 1094 h (= **501**). **283. 284**  
 (*cf.* 1099)]. Aricnot. [1094 c].  
 Aringno. [1094 f]. Anigno.  
 [1024]  
 Aricnotus . . . . *ser.*? 1902  
 Aristo [1532 (*cf.* **403**). **403**]  
 ARRIANVS, *cos. suff. a. incerti,*  
*v. ind. IV*  
 [Ar]tema Babur(i) Q. s(er.) 840  
 Arteme(dorus?) [1308]  
 As. [1501]; *v.* Asclepiades  
 Asbest(us) ? **406**  
 Asclepiades [385 (Asclep.). 398  
 (Asclepi.). 1323 (Asc., As.).  
 1501 (As.). 2243 (Asclepi.).  
 \*2401. **450**]  
 ASIATICVS (*vel* ASIACVS), *cos.*  
*II a. 125, v. ind. IV*  
 Asiaticus 845. [1032]  
 C. Asper *vel* Aspr(enas) 785. 864.  
 865?  
 ASPRENAS, *cos. II a. 128, v. ind.*  
*IV*  
 Aste. [332]  
 Astragalus [1300 (Astrag.). 2179]  
 Astuanax 866  
 Atal. *v.* Attalus  
 Atec. 1312  
 ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ 2537  
 Atictus [261]  
 Aticus *v.* Atticus  
 ATILIANVS (*vel* ACIL.), *cos. a.*  
*135, v. ind. IV*  
 Atimetus 1411. **336** (*cf.* 1280)*add.*  
**544.** [695–697]  
 Atimeti II (*scil.* duo) Caesar(is)  
 (*servi*) **240**  
 Atimetus Vibiae 200 (Vibiaes).  
**49**  
 Attal-  
 Atal(us) [729]  
 A[t]this [1140]  
 Atticilla [1125]  
 Atticus [419 (Atticus). **551**]  
 Auctus **74. 79. 80.** [302. **72***add.* **73**]



- Aug. [562. 733. 734. 1428]  
 Aug. v. Augustalis  
 Augur [1185]  
 AVGVRIIVS, *cos. a. 132, v. ind. IV*  
 Augustalis [373-379 (*cf.* 95). 510  
 (Aug.). 511 (Aug.). 94. 144  
 (Aug.). 145 (*cf.* 2029) (August.)].  
 Augutalis [377 c (*cf.* 95)]  
 August(alis) L. Munati Crescen-  
 tis 123  
 August(alis) Publ. Cresc(entis)  
 686  
 Augustime (*vel* Augustinus?)  
 [724]  
 Augustina 182  
 AVIOLA, *cos. a. 122, v. ind. IV*  
 Avita 437  
 AVIT(VS), *cos. a. 144, v. ind. IV*  
 Auxim(us) 187  
 B. [478. 479. 486. 498. 500. 501.  
 124 (*cf.* 486 b)]  
 Bal. [1324 (*cf.* 343). 342 (*cf.*  
 1975)]  
 BALBINVS, *v. ind. IV, a. 137 et*  
 139  
 Balbus [553]  
 Bar . . . 1889  
 BARBARVS, *cos. a. 157, v. ind. IV*  
 Barbarus [380. 386 (= 554)]  
 Barnae(us?) [1325]  
 Bars. [542. 154]  
 Bas. v. Bassus  
 Bassa [\*1970]  
 Bassila [1376. 1377. \*1378]  
 Bassula [2203. 2204 (Bassul.).  
 2205].  
 Bassulla [2201 (Bassull.).  
 2202]  
 Bassus [79. 80 (Bas.). 81. 94  
 (Bas.). 340. 1326. 23 (*cf.* 60)]  
 Bassus L. Iuli Herm. officinator  
 XIV S I, 5308, 27  
 Bathyllus [457 (*cf.* 2381) (Ba-  
 tyllus 2381. b)]  
 Bathyllus Septimiae 449 (*cf.*  
 2241)  
 Bel. Ber. Ap(pi) (*servus*) (?) 886  
 Benedictus 1376  
 Benerius 2311. [311]  
 †Benignus 1678  
 Ber.? [886]  
 Bergimus 889  
 Berna v. Verna  
 Beryll(us) [118]  
 Best . . . ? [406]  
 Bi[ta]lis v. Vitalis  
 Bithynicus [XIV S I, 5308, 41]  
 Bl., Bla. v. Blastus  
 Blandus [1248. 511]  
 Blastus 2403. [577 a. 579. 161].  
 Bla. [578 a]. Bl. [577 b. 578  
 b]  
 †Bonifatius 1679  
 Bonitus 1680  
 BRA. [228] = BRADVA [826]  
 Brom. [2028]  
 C. [256?. 891. 893. 939. 1313.  
 1314. 2006. 2410. 2411. XIV  
 S I, 5308, 9. 292. 341]  
 C. v. Cap., Chresimus, Cip., Cle-  
 mens, Cosanus, Crescens, Felix  
 Caricus  
 C . . . . [1996. 548 b]  
 Ca. 565 b. [571. 1132]  
 Ca . . o . . . . 238  
 Cae . . . [68]  
 Caecil(ianus) [517]  
 CAEDICIANVS [228. 229 a. 230.  
 231 (Caedic.). 232. 604 (= 171).  
 605 (= 178). 184 (*cf.* 229 b)<sup>add.</sup> 185. 187 (*cf.* 2036)].  
 Cae . . . . [186]. Caed. [607.

- 172. 173. 176** (*cf.* 614). **179.**  
**181** (Caeb.). Caes. [227. 603  
 (= 169). 608 (= 170). **175.**  
**177** (*cf.* 234) (Ce.). C. [233.  
**180. 182. 183]**  
 Caereal(is) 443  
 Caes. *v.* Cest(ianus)  
 Caesi(anus?) [2320]  
 Caet. *vel* Cate. [1484]  
 Cal. *v.* GALLICANVS  
 M. . . . . Cal. **211**  
 Calais **479**  
 Cald(us) 896  
 Callistianus [690]  
 Callistus 898. 1681 (Calistus). **545.**  
 [1145]  
 Callistus Coccei Nervae 2314  
 Callistus duorum Domitiorum  
 992 a-d. **269** = Callistus Do-  
 mitior(um) 992 e. **270** (Do-  
 mitioru.). **271** (Callistus,  
 Daphnus Domitiorum)  
 = Callistus Cn. Domiti Tulli  
 1004  
 CAMERINVS, *cos. a.* 138, *v. ind.*  
*IV*  
 CAMILLA [112. 114 (Camil.).  
**40]**  
 CAMILLVS 112-114 (Cam. 113 b)  
 Camil(lus) **111** (*cf.* 448)  
 Candid(a) [2321]  
 Canta(ber) [442]  
 Cao *v.* Cato  
 Cap. [683] = C. [206]  
 Capito 2200. [532. 1963 \*(Capit.).  
 2197. **390]**  
 Car. **396** (*cf.* 1514)  
 Caric(us) 101. 102 (*cf.* 34). 1053  
 (Car.). 1211. **292?** (C.). Cari.  
 [\*352. **91]**  
 Carpus [267. 277. 1111. **59** (*cf.*  
 268). \***60]**  
 Carpus Domiti Agathobuli 1107  
 Cassi. [477]  
 Cassianus 914  
 Castricius et Rodo Ful(vi) (*servi*)  
 2444 (= **301**)  
 CASTVS, *cos. suff. a. inc. sub*  
*Hadriano, v. ind. IV*  
 Castus 920. **559**  
 Castus Caesaris Augu(sti) 919  
 = Castus Caesaris XIV S I,  
 5308, 13. 15 (Caesar.) = Cas-  
 tus Augusti XIV S I, 5308, 14  
 Casulus 2351. **455**  
 Cate. *vel* Caet. [1484]  
 Cato [2508 (*ubi errore legitur*  
*Cao*). **82. 83]**  
 CATVLLINVS, *cos. a.* 130, *v. ind.*  
*IV*  
 Catullus [416. 419]  
 Catullus Plotinae Augusti 921  
 (Aug. 921 b)  
 Ce., Ce . . . *v.* Cerdo  
 Cel. 1682. \*1893. [1213]  
 \*Celadus M. Fulvi ser. **304** (*cf.*  
 1894)  
 Celer **546.** [141. 290. 303. \*304. 305.  
 388. 834. 1504. 1523. 2188.  
 2478. **515** (Cel.). **516. 539.**  
**545. 546. 547** (Cel.)]  
 CELSV(S) [438]; *v. etiam ind.*  
*IV, a.* 113, 129, 164  
 Celsus [392. 393. 394 (*cf.* 97). 395.  
 1272. **98]**  
 Censorin(us) [2316]  
 Cesurinus 1609  
 Cer. [113]  
 Cerdo [802. 803. 1496 (Ce.). **114**  
 (Ce . . .)]  
 Cerdo Calpetani **75**  
 Certus [2491]  
 Cest(ianus) [482 a-d. 485]. Ces.  
 [482 e. f. 484]. Caes. [483.  
 122]. C. . . . [123]  
 Cesurinus *v.* Censorinus

- Cethe *vel* Ce. Thes. 390  
 Ch. [\*326]  
 Charito [451. 790. 1095]  
 Chi. [1350]  
 Chione [341. 342]  
 Chius 2404  
 Choetonicus 2405  
 Chr. *v.* Chresimus  
 Chresimus [2294. 2296. (Chr.).  
 2312. **348** (Chres.)]  
     Chresimus L. Munati Crescen-  
     ti(s) 122 a = Chresimus L. M.  
     C. 122 b = Cresimus L. M. C.  
     122 c = C. L. M. C. 121  
 Chrestus [2379]  
 Chryseros *v.* Crhyseros  
 T. Cilian(us) (?) 924  
 Cimber 2504. **480**. [2502]  
 Cip. [89] = C. [88]  
 CIVICA, *cos. a.* 136, *v. ind.* IV  
 Cl. [1978 (*vel.* C. 1(ib.)). 2296]  
 Cladus [246]  
 CLA(RVS), *cos. II a.* 146, *v. ind.*  
     IV  
 Clarus [556 (*cf.* 2503)]  
 Clemens 34. 1610. **547**. [285. 384  
     (*cf.* **96**). 416 (Clem.). 642.  
     938. 939? (C.). 989. 1102.  
     1382. \*2280 (Clem.). 2440. **70**  
     (*cf.* 291) (Clem.). \***286. 502**]  
 Clodianus [1023. 1027. 1039. **146**  
     (Clod.). \***276**]  
 Clonus [1149]  
     = (*ante manumissionem*) Clo-  
     nus Caesaris 941  
 Clu. *v. ind.* VI D  
 Co. . . . [945]  
 Cogit[a]tus *ser.* **540** (*cf.* 2487)  
 Com. [369]  
     Com. . . . Rutili[ae?] **542**  
 Comicus [242<sup>add.</sup> 857]  
 COMMODVS, *cos. a.* 136 *et* 154,  
     *v. ind.* IV  
 Communis 1214 (Commu.) [306  
     (*cf.* **77**). (Commu. 306 b).  
     307. 308 (= **549**). 926. **78** (*cf.*  
     309). **79. 550. 573. 574**]  
 Commu(nis) Atelliorum **583** (*cf.*  
     660 *ubi errore legitur* Aelio-  
     rum). **584**  
 Comolvis [2200]  
 CONDIANVS, *cos. a.* 151, *v. ind.*  
     IV  
 Consors [44-46. 186. **44** (*cf.* 154).  
     **102**]  
 Constans XIV S I, 5308, 34  
 Constantius 1683  
 Corinthus [710 a. b. 765]. Corint.  
     [710 c. 858]  
 Cornelianus [579. 916 (Corn.  
     . . .). 975 (Corn.)]  
 CORVINVS **249**  
 Corvus [454]  
 Cosanus [96. 97. 98. 100. 101.  
     C. [99. \*102 (*cf.* **34**). 106. 111.  
     \***35** (*cf.* 2069). **36** (*cf.* 106 b).  
     **37. 38**]  
 Cosmus 1422 *ser.* [1133]  
     Cosmus Q. Asini Marcelli 856  
     Cosmus M. Her(enni) Pol(lio-  
     nis) *ser.* 1181 a = Cosmus  
     M. H. P. s. 1181 b  
 Cr. [448]  
 Crescens 35. 1516. 1519. [122 a.  
     123. 175. 201. 218. 280. 407.  
     623. 725-727. 788. 1135. 1380.  
     1381. 1527. 1528. 2038. 2497.  
     **61. 243** (= **473**) (*cf.* 901).  
     **467. 565**]. *Cresc.* 2481 *ser.*  
     [124. 127. 243. 686]. *Cres.*  
     [128\*. 593. 1144]. *Cre.* [900.  
     1430]. C. [121. 122 b. c. 126]  
 Cresces 2458. \***478**. [2441. **561**]  
 Crescens Atiliae Quintillae 871  
 Crescen[s C.] Calp(etani) Fa-

- v[o]ris 2422 b = Crecens Cal.  
 Favo . . . 2422 a  
 Crescen[s] C. Calpeta[ni] Li-  
 viani 475  
 Crescens Domitiae Lucillae P. f.  
 ser. 1028  
 Crescens L. Munati Fausti 962  
 (L. M. F. 962 b). \*1897?  
 Crescens. . . Publ. Hist. . 963  
 Crescens M. Varien(i) Iucundi  
 964 (= 562) (= *post manumis-*  
*sionem*) [561]  
 Crhyseros (*sic*) [1105 (= 2434)]  
 Crispina [670 (Crisppina 670 b).  
 \*671 (Crisp.?)]  
 Crispinianus 1684  
 CRISPINVS [2192. 619 (add.)]  
 Crispio [2457]  
 CRISPVS, *cos. a. 113, v. ind. IV*  
 Crispus [409-412 (*cf.* 103. 104).  
 364]  
 Crust. [2185]  
 . . . . c. Cup. 2039  
 Cupitus [1305 (= 2471)]  
 Cypherus Domitio(rum) 993  
  
 D. 72. 490. 19. 20. [456-459. 973?  
 1061. 117 (*cf.* 460)]  
 D. D. D. (= D. d(uorum) D(o-  
 mitiorum) *servus*?) 973  
 D . . . . o 278  
 Daedalus d(uorum) D(omitiorum)  
 Luc(ani) et Tul(li) s(er.) 994  
 Dama [1327. 2194]  
 Dama Domiti Afri 980 = Dama  
 Do. Af. 265<sup>add.</sup>  
 Dama Marci C. s(er.) 333 (*cf.*  
 1268)  
 Daphnus [1101. 1122 (Dapnus)]  
 Daphnus Domitiorum Tulli et  
 Lucani 490 = Daphnus Domi-  
 tiorum 995. 271 (Domitior.)  
 Dapsiliis (?) XIV S I, 5308, 18  
  
 De. v. Demetrius  
 Decemb(er) 1578. [512. 513  
 (Dec.). 1297 (December)]  
 December Cn. Domiti Trophimi  
 1117 (= 503)  
 December L. Luri Proculi 1254  
 Del[us] [2396]  
 Demetrius 335 s(er.). [217. 970  
 (De.). 1234 (*cf.* 329) (De-  
 met.). 1273. 2460. 263. 344  
 (*cf.* 1328) (Deme.)]  
 Demetr(ius) Dom(itiae) Do(mi-  
 tiani) 551  
 Desiderius 1685  
 Dia. [585]  
 Diadum(enus) [946]  
 T. Diadumenus 2307  
 Diagiza M. Fulvi s(er.) 2445 (= 302)  
 Dida [1429]  
 Dignitosus 609  
 Dio. [1177]  
 Diogenes [231. 324]  
 Diome. . . . (?) 1898  
 Diomedes [1103]  
 Dionysius 632 *vel* [632]. 662.  
 Dioni. [912. \*1899]. Dio. . . .  
 [199]  
 Dio . . . . us ser. \*1031\*  
 Dionys(ius) Domit(iae) P. f. Lu-  
 cil(lae) 1029 = Dion. Dom.  
 Lu. se(r.) 1030 = Dionys(ius)  
 Luc(illae) 1020  
 Dionysi[us] Fulvi M. se[r.] 978  
 (= 303)  
 Diophanes [2180]  
 Dioscorus [1204]  
 Diphilus [1138. 1869. 2238 (Di-  
 phil.). 2239 (Dipl.). 345?  
 (Dpl.)]  
 DOMITIL(LA) [1139]  
 Don. [713]

- Donatianus *vel* Sex. Donatianus  
1686. Donati. **610**
- Donatus [1505. 1506. 2205. 2511.  
2512. **563**]
- Donax [1244. 1260]
- Doris [73 (Dor.). 74. 75]
- Dorus Servil(iae) Secun(dillae)  
1127
- Doryphor(us) Domit(iae) P. f. Lu-  
cill(ae) 1033
- Dpl. *v.* Diphilus
- Dyna . . . [436]
- E. [342. 410. 412 (*cf.* **104**). 1997.  
XIV S I, 5308, 23. **313?**]
- Earinus 1047  
= Earinus Domitiae Lucillae  
1022. 1048. **497** (Dom. Luc.)  
= Earinus Lucillae Veri ac-  
(tor) 1049  
= Earinus Lucilae Veri 1050
- Ec.? 858  
[Ec]hio [947]
- Eclec[tus] [1507]
- Ed. *v.* Hedys
- Eleutherus [1104. 1233]  
Eleutherus et Sinda Caesaris 1128
- Eli. *v.* Heli.
- Em. [282. **65**]
- Encolpus Aug(usti) disp(ensator)  
**537**
- Ep. *v.* Epagathus
- Epagathus [9. 841 (Aepagatus)]  
Epagathu(s) Claudi Quinqua-  
(tralis) ser. 1075. 1076 (ser.  
*om.*) = Epagathus Cl. Qq. 1074  
= Ep. Cl. Quin. 1073
- Epaphra [815. 883. 2542]
- Epaphroditus [XIV S I, 5308, 40]
- Epicrate(s) 953
- Epinicus [1238]
- Epityn(chanus) [974]
- Er.? [2420]
- Erasinus Aug(usti) 1(ib.) 2324
- Eros [2040. 2489. 2490]  
*gen.* Eronis \*1943. [1465. 2236.  
2237]  
Eros serv(u)s 2193
- Eu. 565 c
- Eu. *v.* Eun.
- Euaristus [1096 (Euarestus 1096  
f)]
- Euc. [\*739]
- Eucharus Plo(tiae) Isau(ricae) ser.  
54 = Eucharus Plotiae Isau-  
ricae \*52 = Euchar. Isaur. 53
- Eucherius [**255**]
- Euchrus [1150. **294** (*cf.* 1151)  
(Eucrhus)]
- Eufra *v.* Euphra
- Euhelp(istus) [209. 210 (Euhe.)]
- Euhod(us) C. C. Primig[e(ni)] 514
- Eumene(s) Marci C. s(er.) 1269
- Eun. [591 (Eu. 591 c)]
- Eunus 1130
- Euphemus [537 (Euphe. 537 a)]
- Euphras *vel* Euphra s(er.) 1458  
= Eufra *vel* Eufra s(er.) 1457
- Eupor L. Domiti Lupi 2247
- Eupr. [1045]
- Eurytus 449
- Euscemus [**229**]
- Eusebes [C.] Calpetan(i) **472**
- Eut. [1292]
- Eutac(tus) [487 a. **127**]. Euta. [487  
b. **128**]. Eut. [487 c]
- [E]utrapelus [1162]
- Eutychia [784]
- Eutychus 647 *se(r.)*. 1131. **194**  
(Eutichus *se.*) **195** *ser.* [2274.  
XIV S I, 5308, 20. **414. 415**]
- Eutyc(hus) P. A(eli) A(lexan-  
dri) 93
- Euvenus [533]
- Exoche [**458**]. Exsoce [2383]



- Expecta(tus) 208  
 Exxuperantius (*sic*) 1687  
  
 F. 491. [617. 1351. 2183. 2359?  
 2370. **62** (*cf.* 281 b)? **116**]  
 F. v. FADILLA, Faustus, Felix, Fir-  
 mus, Fortunatus  
 Fa. [960. 1375]  
 Facundus C. Calp(etani) Favoris  
 ser. 903 (*cf.* **589**)  
 Fad. [1354]  
 FADILLA [72. 78. 81. 83. 87. 91.  
**26** (? F. . . . .). **28**].  
 Fadil. [71. 74. 82 (Fadill).  
 90 b (*cf.* **31**)]. Fad. [69. 73. 76.  
 77. 84. 88. 90 a (*cf.* **30**). **25**.  
**29. 32**]. Fa. [70. 85. 89]. F.  
 [86. **33**]  
 Falernus duo(rum) Domitior(um)  
 Lucani et Tulli s(er.) 997  
 Falernus C. Iuli Hilli (*servus*)  
 XIV S I, 5308, 28  
 Fasis v. Phasis  
 Fave(ntinus) 1431  
 Faventinus [2439]  
 Favor [312-316. 317\*. 903 (*cf.*  
**589**). 904 a. e-f. 905. 1163.  
 2421. \*2422. 2545. XIV S I,  
 5308, 19. **244. 498**].  
 Faor **110**. [902\*. 904 b-d. 2423.  
**474**]  
 Favor Cn. Domiti s. 981. **482** (s.  
*om.*)  
 Favor Lucillae 1009  
 FAVSTINA [456 (Faust.). 457 (*cf.*  
**576**) (Fausti . . . 520]; v.  
*praeterea ind. III*  
 Faustinus 1586 a. 2325. Faust. 1585  
 (Faus.). 1586 b  
 Faustus 2438 ser. [828. 962 (F. 962  
 b). 1225. 1294. 1408. 1897]  
 Faustus ser. = Faustus 2479  
  
 Faustus Domit. Tulli 1005 (D.  
 1005 c)  
 = Faustus Domitiae Cn. f. Lucil-  
 lae 1010 = Faustus Domitiae  
 Lucillae ser. 1011  
 = Faustus Domitiae P. f. Lucill.  
 1034 = (?) [Faus]t(us) Do-  
 mit(iae) . . . [Lu]cill(ae)  
 s(er.) \***273**  
 Fe. v. Festus  
 Fel. v. Felicissimus, Felix  
 Feliciss(imus) 185. 1587. [413. 414  
 (Felicissi.). 755 (Felicissimus).  
 879 (Felicissim.). 880 (Fel.)]  
 Felix 613 a *lib.* 1505 ser. 2225. 2371  
 b. **291. 582** (*cf.* 613 b) *l(ib)*.  
 [31. 235. 324. 338. 383. 422.  
 423 (*cf.* **108**). 624. 635. 636.  
 683. 737. 738. 1147. 1235. 1255.  
 1301. 1309. 1341. 1405. 1462.  
 2169 (*cf.* **423**). 2186. 2193.  
 2194. 2350. 2414. 2430. 2431.  
 2437. **206. 216. 223. 224. 225.**  
**359 a. 401** (*cf.* 1525). **468. 479.**  
**480**]. Fel. 1558. 1637. [89.  
 250. 251. \*1058. 1059. 2043.  
 2543. **29. 359 b**]. F. [**359 c**]  
 T. Felix 2371 a  
 Felix Aeli Diphili 1138  
 Felix C. **292**  
 Felix Domiti Afri 982 (Dom.  
 982 b)  
 Felix Dom. Luc. 1012 (Luci. 1012  
 b)  
 Felix Flaviaes Domitil(lae) 1139  
 Felix Pompeiae A[t]thidis 1140  
 Felix M. Publici 639  
 Felix S. S. s(er.) 645  
 Felix [C. Vibi] Donati ser. 1506 b  
 = Felix C. Vibi Donat(i) 1506  
 a  
 Felix C. Vibi Faventini 2439  
 Felix Caric(us) 1211. Fel. Car.



1053. Felix C. (*si ad eundem pertinet*) **292**  
 Ferentinian(us) [382]  
 Festus 26 (Fest.). 444. **293**<sup>add.</sup> [238.  
 239. 240 (Fe.). 399. 402]  
 Fetiali(s) [796]  
 Fidens [2163]  
 Figulus [1356. **422** (*vel fig.*)]  
 Q. Figulus 1357  
 Filtatus v. Philtatus  
 Fimbria [2291]  
 Firmus [233. 605 (= **178**). 940.  
 1274 (*bis*). 1425. **174**]. Firm.  
 [606. 1456. **176** (*cf.* 614)] Fir.  
 [177 (*cf.* 234)]. F. [604 (= **171**)].  
 Fyrmus [232. 545. 1224. **172**.  
**173**]. Fyr. **175**. [1478]  
 Fl. ser. 8  
 FLAC(CVS) [521. 522]  
 FLACC(VS) AELIAN(VS)  
 c(larissimus) p(uer), *fortasse*  
*filius C. Iuli Flacci Aeliani,*  
*legatus Cappadociae a. 198 (cf.*  
*PIR I 72 n. 428)* 434 (Ael. 434  
 b)  
 Flaccus [1787+2469. 2470 (Flacc.)]  
 Flamma [797]  
 = Flamma Anniae Ares(cusae)  
 1141  
 Flavianus [392 (*cf.* 1497)]  
 Florenti(us?) [517]  
 Florus 666. †1689. 2511 ser. [2499.  
 2500]  
 Florus d(uorum) D(omitiorum)  
 998  
 Fo. 492  
 For. v. Fortunatus  
 Fort. v. Fortis, Fortunatus  
 Fortis **426**. Fort. **427** (*cf.* 2215)  
 Fortunati(anus) ser. 2472  
 Fortunatus 1160. \*1521. \*2045.  
 2406. 2512 ser. **274**. [1110. 159.  
 292. 601. 711. 712. 816. 855.  
 867-869. 876. 890. 906. 1232.  
 1275. 1423. 1442. 1463. 2044.  
 2168. 2347. **209. 469. 565.**  
**568**].  
 Fortunat. 298. 1343 ser. 1690.  
 [219 (*cf.* **51**). 849. 861. 923.  
 1414. 2203. **564**]  
 Fortuna. **112**. [847. 2348].  
 Fortun. [13. 1310].  
 Fortu. [297. 846. **156. 180.**  
**210**].  
 Fort. 299. [848. 850\*. 860. 862.  
 959. **155. 157** (Fo. . . )].  
 For. 1654 a. [607. 794? **179.**  
**181**].  
 F. 300. 1654 b. [236]  
 Fortun[atus] C. A. H. (?) \*2327  
 Fortunatus Domitiorum Lucani  
 et Tulli 999 a-c = duorum Do-  
 mitiorum ser. Fortunatus 999  
 d = Fortu(natus) d(uorum)  
 D(omitiorum) 999 e = For-  
 tunatus Domitiorum 999 f. g  
 = Fortunatus Cn. Domiti Tulli  
 1006  
 Fortunatus Domit. Lucil. 1019 =  
 Fortunatus Luc. 1018 =  
 Fort. . . Domit. Luci. . . 2442  
 Fortunatus Severiani mag(istri)  
**614**  
 Fron(to) *vel* Fron(tinus) 530  
 Fructus 682? (Fruc.). [922 (*cf.*  
**250**). 923. 1499 (Fruc.)]  
 FVL(VVS) v. *ind. III (sub Anto-*  
*nino Pio)*  
 Fulvus [1184]  
 Fundanus 1165  
 Fuscus [1264. 1498 (= 2510).  
 2461. 2479. **518**]  
 Fyrmus v. Firmus

- G. [503 (= 136). 608 (= 170).  
\*1984. 137. 138. 139 (cf.  
2212). 140 (cf. 502 b). 141]  
Gadia Domiti Tulli 1007  
Gal. [498. 592. 1834] = G.? [503  
(= 136). 137]  
Galenus 1169  
Galla [2481. 620 (add.)]  
GALLICANVS *v. ind. IV, a. 127*  
*et 150*  
Gallus [1409. 2292. 264. 371]  
Gamio 2047  
Gamus [1329]  
†Gaudentius 1691. 1692  
Gelos [50. 51]  
Gemella [1302]  
Gemellus [927]  
Geminianus 1693  
Genethlius Aug(usti) 1(ib.) 2170  
Genialis Rasini Pontici ser. 2449  
(*cf. 538*)  
Germ. [1123]  
GLABRIO *v. ind. IV, a. 124 et 152*  
Glaucus Lucretianus [2207 (*cf.*  
442)]  
Glypt(us) Calp(etani) *vel* Glyp-  
t(us) Calp(etanus) 517  
Gobathus [928 (Gobatus 928 b)].  
Gob. [251. 252]  
Gorg. [318]  
Gra. s(er.) *vel* G. Ras. 1171  
Graphicus [1994]  
servus Graphicus 852 = Grapi.  
ser. 237 (*cf. 851*)  
Gratilla [959 (Grat.). 960 (Gra-  
[till.]). 961]  
Gratus [464]  
Gym. . . 2249
- H. 131. [892. 1174 a? 2327.  
361<sup>add.</sup>]  
H. *v. HADRIANVS*  
Ha. [1330]
- HADRIANVS 295. 70 (*cf. 291*).  
[14 (*cf. 287*)]. Hadrian. [38.  
40. 16]. Hadr. 296. [1452. 15  
(*cf. 39*)]. Had. [41]. H. [99  
(*cf. 396*). 100. 101]  
HADRIANVS SEVERVS 572  
(*cf. 294*)  
Adrianu(s) 1677  
Hality. [339]  
Halotus [543]  
Halys (*abl. Hality?*) [339]  
Hamil(la) [397]. Amylla [355. 92.  
93 (Amyl.)]  
HAST(A), *cos. a. 114, v. ind. IV*  
Hebenus [2425]  
Hedys (*abl. Hedy(n)e*) 1434. 1435;  
*gen. Hedyt(is)* 1437. Hedys  
1439) 1434 *ser.* 1435. 1437  
*s(er.)*. 1438 *ser.* 1439 *ser.* Ed.  
1436  
Helenus 275 *ser.* [1276. 1277. 335]  
Helenus D(omitiae) P. f. Lucil-  
lae 1035  
Heli(us?) [757]. Eli(us?) [758]  
Helius 13  
Helix \*1949  
Hellen. [313]  
Helpiszon 1175  
Her. *v. Hermetianus*, Herodotus  
Hercul. 591 (*cf. 1530*)  
Herculan(us) [1529 (Hercul. 1529  
b)]  
Herm. *v. Hermes*  
Hermaphilus [1260]  
Herme. *v. Hermeros*, Hermes  
Hermeros [930 (Herme. 930 e).  
1494. 2181]  
Hermes 2330. [318. 319. 320 (*cf.*  
84). 321. 799. 1152. \*1944].  
Herm. 2372. [956. 2208. 2265.  
XIV S I, 5308, 27]  
Hermes Antoniae Manlio(lae)  
63. 64 (Anton. Manliolae)

- Hermes C. Calpetani Favoris *vel*  
Faoris 904. **244**  
Hermes d(uorum) D(omitiorum)  
996  
Herme(s?) Servi *vel* Servi(li)  
Fulvi 1184  
Hermetianus 366\*. 367. 370 (Her.)  
Hermias 1215. [2251]  
Hermogen(es) [1261. 1278 (Her-  
moge.)]  
Herodotus [580 (Her. 580 b. c.)]  
Heterus 2492  
HIBERVS, *cos. a. 133, v. ind. IV*  
Hil. [330]  
Hilario ser. 1276  
Hilarus 1187. 1950. \*2280 *s(er.)*.  
[817. 948. 1230. 1426. 1493.  
2234. 2240. **328** (Hilar.)]  
L. Hilarus 2388  
Hillus [XIV S I, 5308, 28]  
Himer(us) [192 (*cf.* 640)]  
= Hinierus [1517]  
Hispanus [895. **242** (Hispa. .)]  
Hist. . [963]  
Hitpolitus [388 (*cf.* 2052)]  
HOM(VLLVS) [2208]; *v. etiam*  
*ind. IV, a. 152*  
Honesi(mus) *v.* Onesimus  
Hyginus 1196. 2287 ([H]ygin. . . )  
Hylas [1098]  
Hymnus [404]
- I. [830? 1257. **331** (*cf.* 1258)]  
I. *v.* Iulianus  
Ianuaria 1159  
Ianuarius 516 (Ianua.). 775 (*vel*  
[775?]). 1197. 1198 (Ian. . . ).  
[117-120. 293. 465. 775 (?).  
808. 940. 1060 (Ianua.). 1124.  
1153. 1390. 2158 (*cf.* **410**).  
2424. **578** (Ian.). **586** (*cf.* 736)  
(Ianu.)]  
. . . li(us) Ianuarius 1454
- Ianuarius Domit. Lucillae 1013  
Iason [949]  
Ic. 565 d  
Iduarius [1239]  
Ieron 1199  
Ieronymus 715  
Im. . . . 1954. \*1955?  
Ingenua 205. [203]  
Ingenuus [1172? (Inge.). 2504. **425**.  
**557** (Incenuus)]  
Inocens **611**  
Io? [521]  
†Iohannes 1694 (IQANN.). 1695.  
**612** ([I]oannes)  
Ionicus [814]  
IOVIANVS v(ir) s(pectabilis) (?)  
1696  
Irenaeus [704]  
Is. *v.* Isaurica, Isochrysus  
Isaurica [11. 49. 52. 58. 59 a-b. 63.  
64. 67. 68. 339. 421. 1421-  
1425. \*2000. **23** (*cf.* 60). **24**  
(*cf.* 64 b). **378**]. Isauric. [208  
(*cf.* **50**). 1420. **375** (*cf.* 2034)].  
Isauri. [59 c]. Isaur. 50. 53.  
[12. 207. 674]. Isau. [54. 55.  
652. **377**]. Is. [65. 66. 1418]  
Ision [1477]  
Ismarus 984 (= **484**), 985  
Ismarus Domiti 983 (= **483**)  
= Ismarus Cn. Cn. Domitiorum  
**268** (= **489**)  
Isoc(h)rysus [1331 a]. Isochry.  
[1331 b]. Isoc. . . . [1331 c].  
Is. [1331 d]  
Iub. [823. \***226**]  
Iucundus 2407. 2448 *s(er.)*. [964  
(= **562**). 2450. 2455. **507**. **617**  
(add.)]  
Iul. *v.* Iulianus  
Iulian. . . . et Quad. . . . 1957  
IVLIANA c(larissima) f(emina),  
*eadem quae plenius nominatur*

- Anicia Iuliana, uxor Anicii Her-*  
*mogeniani Olybrii, cos. a. 395*  
1705  
\*Iuliana (*immo* Ianuaria) 1159 b\*  
IVLIANVS [475]; *v. etiam ind.*  
*IV, a. 148 et a. inc. sub Had-*  
*riano*  
Iulianus [\*489. 494 (Iul.). 740.  
1468. 2160. 2173-2177. **129**  
(*cf.* 488). **430**]. I. [490-493  
(*cf.* 133). **131. 132**]  
Iul(ianus) *vel* Iul(io) Ser(viano)  
III cos. [1453-1455. **18**]  
Iull(us) [931]  
Iuncus [1485]  
Ius. 1696?  
Iussa [2344]  
Iusta 2174  
Iustian(us) [2260]  
Iustin(us) **378**  
Iustus 1664. 1668. [47. 176. 177.  
272. 363. 1046. 1124. 1312.  
1342-1344. 2486. 2505]  
Ius[tu]s Caesar(is) 1231  
Iuven. [515 (Iuve. 515 b)]  
  
KANVS, *cos. a. 138, v. ind. IV*  
Karus [**151**]  
  
L. 1589. [281 a? 571? 1466? 2158  
(*cf.* **410**)]  
L. v. Lelianus, Lenaeus, LVCILLA,  
Lupus  
Laelianus v. Lelianus  
LAMIA, *cos. a. 116, v. ind. IV*  
LARGVS, *cos. a. 147, v. ind. IV*  
LATERANVS, *cos. a. 154, v. ind.*  
*IV*  
M.' Later(ensis) (*v. M.'* (Iuven-  
tius) Laterensis, *ind. I*) 2301  
Latiaris [1245]  
Latinus (?) 1091  
Laurentius +1697. 2334  
Laut(us) [**374**]  
Lelianus [588]. L. [589]  
Lenaeus = L. [2161]  
Leo 2480 *ser.* 2488 *ser.* [**69** (*cf.*  
286) (*vel* Leon.). **534**]  
Leo P F 1698  
Leon. (*vel* Leo) [**69** (*cf.* 286)]  
Leontius 1699. 2335. **432**  
Lesbius [654. 655]  
Lib. v. Livianus, Libo  
Liberalis [**282** (*cf.* 1092) (Li-  
beral.)]  
Liberalis Cn. Dom. **485**  
Liberalis Rutiliae 1242 (a =  
2456)  
LIBO [512. 513]. Lib. [514. **146**];  
*v. etiam ind. IV, a. 128*  
Lic. Max. Osc.? [881]  
Licca [2252]  
Licymnus [800. 801]. Lychimn(us)  
[**221**]  
Livianus [559 (Lib.). 932<sup>add.</sup> 2317.  
**475. 476**]  
Lo. 565 e  
LOLLIANVS [1688]  
Long. [2189. 2242 (Lon.)]  
Lov. . . (?) [2339]  
Lu. v. LVCILLA  
Luc. v. LVCANVS, LVCILLA  
LVCANVS [116. 997. 999 a-c. **490**].  
Luc. [989. 991. 994. 1001.  
**488**]  
Lucifer **525**. [59. 61. 62. 83. 2462.  
2463. **519. 520**].  
LVCILLA 223 a. 1009. 1064. \*2473.  
\*2484. [130. 171. 263. 266 b\*.  
270 b. 616. 1008. 1010. 1011.  
1013. 1014 c. 1015 b. 1016.  
1018. 1022. 1026-1028. 1031\*.  
1035. 1038. 1047. 1048. 1056  
(*cf.* **279**). 1057. 1061. 1069.  
1070. 1091. 2483. 2517 (*gen.*

- Lucillaes). **42. 275. 282** (*cf.* 1092) (*gen. Lucille*)].  
 Lucill. 223 b. 224. 1087\*. [266 a. 270 a. 273. 1014 b. 1015 a. 1025. 1033. 1034. 1040. 1042. 1044. 1059. 1062. 1067. **59** (*cf.* 268). **\*273** (*cf.* 1942)].  
 Lucil. 1053. [125. 264. 267. 277. 1014 a. 1019. 1023. 1029. 1041. 1046. 1051. 1054. 1060. **\*2442?** **274**]. Lucil. [1012 b].  
 Luc. 1018. 1020. [139. 140. 172. 173. 269. 630. 1012 a. 1017 (= 2496). 1020. 1021. 1030. 1032. 1036. 1043 (*bis*). 1045. 1052. 1058. 1063. 1073. 1079. 1088. **60. 277\*** (*immo* 1052). **280. 497**].  
 Lu. [132. 1030].  
 L. [121. 123. 124. 127. 128\*. 129. 265. 271. 272. 1024. 1037. 1039. 1065. 1066. **\*2514?** **276**]  
 Lucilla n(ostra) 223 (Lucill. n. 223 b). [616]  
 LVCILLA VERI 617. 1049. 1050 (Lucila). 1078. 1080 a. \*c. 1081. 1082. **278\*** (*immo* 617).  
 Lucill. Veri 618. 619\*. 1068. 1077 (*cf.* **281**). 1080 b. 1089. 1090 b\* (Lucill. Ver.). [1085].  
 Lucil. Veri 131. 1090 a. **41**. [1072]. Lucil. Ver. 1086. Luc. Ver. [1071]  
 LVCILLVS c(larissimus) v(ir) 1700  
 Lucretianus [2207 (*cf.* **442**)]  
 Lucrio 1246  
 Lup. 452  
 Lup. v. Lupio, Lupulus, Lupus  
 Lupio [76. 77 (Lup.). 78. **25. 26. 27**]  
 Lupula [338]  
 Lupul(us) [471]. Lup. [244. 1052. **119**]  
 Lupus 29. 344. 345. [18. 26. 31 (Lup.). 2245-2248. **9** = (*nomine eraso*) 32]. L. [19-25 (*cf.* 4). 27. 30. 348. **5-8. 10**]  
 Lychimn. v. Licymnus  
 Lygdamus 2438 *ser.* [1418 (Lygdam.). 1419. **541** (Lygdam.)]  
 Lygdus duo[r(um)] Domitior(um) **492**  
 Lysis [474]  
 M. 1590. **290. 601** (*cf.* 1592). [328. 573? 2276. 2351. 2489. XIV S I, 5308, 5. **85. 455**]  
 M. P. B(etilieni) Chr(esimi) (*ser.*) 2296  
 M. v. Mammeius, MARCELLVS, MAXIMVS, Myrtilus  
 M. . . . [**\*1888**]  
 Ma. disp(ensator?) 541  
 Ma. *vel* M. [2489]  
 Ma. . . . [**\*1961**]  
 Macrina [1300 (Macri.). 1301. 1302]  
 MACRI(NVS), *cos. a. 164, v. ind.* IV  
 Macrinus [1189]  
 Maenal(us) [669]  
 Mag. [1227]  
 Mag. . . . ? [2357]  
 Maginus [1371]  
 Magnio 943. 944. 1203 (*vel* [1203]). [942 (Magn.). 1203? **568** (Mag.)]  
 Magnus [680]  
 Mai. 618 *ser.* 621 *ser.* 622 (*cf.* **189 servus. 397**). [1279]  
 Mai. Faust(i)n(ae) Aug(ustae) 620  
 Maior 1390  
 Maius 2256



- Malliola v. Manliola  
 Mallus [317 (*cf.* 1176)]  
 Mam. [385]  
 MAMER(TINVS) [523 (Mam.).  
 411 (*cf.* 2159)]  
 Mammeianus [1372 (*cf.* 356). 355]  
 Mammeius [1373. 355]. M. [1372  
 (*cf.* 356)]  
 MA[N]LIOL(A) *vel* MA[L]LI-  
 OL(A) [124 (*cf.* 486 b)].  
 Mall(iola) [486 a]  
 Manliola [281 (*cf.* 62) (Malliola).  
 822 (Manl.). \*2225 (Mal-  
 lio. . ?). 63 (Manlio.). 64]  
 Mar. 1559  
 Mar. v. MARCELLVS  
 Marc. v. MARCELLINA, MAR-  
 CELLVS  
 Marcell. *vel* Marcelli. [858. 239 (*cf.*  
 859)]  
 Marcella [1259]  
 MARCELLINA [934 (Marc.). 935.  
 936]  
 Marcellinus 1701  
 MARCELLVS [847. 853. 854. 856.  
 857. 238]. Marcel. [846. 855  
 (Margel.)]. Marc. [235? 236].  
 Mar. [848]. M. [330. 849.  
 850\*. 852. 237 (*cf.* 851); v.  
*etiam ind. IV, a. 129*  
 Marcellus [1476]  
 Marcianus 1266. 1378  
 Margarit. . 2190  
 Mari. 1495. [1399 (*nisi legendum*  
*est* Rodmari.)]  
 Mario [818. 819. \*1877??]  
 MARTIA(LIS) [396 (*cf.* 1514)]  
 Martialis 445 (Martial.). [1079  
 (Mart.). 1080. 1249-1251.  
 1296. 1402. 412]  
 Martinus [825]  
 Martinus Severiani ma[g(istri)]  
 615 (*cf.* 1710)  
 Mas. [297]  
 Masc. . . . \*1969  
 Masurus *vel* M. A. Surus 776  
 MATERNVS, *cos. suff. a. 128, v.*  
*ind. IV*  
 Max. [881]  
 Maxim. [863]  
 Maxima [214. 215\*. 325?  
 (Maxm.)]  
 Maximin(a) [216. 325? (Maxm.)]  
 Maximinus [XIV S I, 5308, 8]  
 MAXIMVS [292. 298. 299. 300.  
 1458. 1459]. Maxim. [40. 290.  
 293. 297. 1456. 1457. 16].  
 Max. [41. 288. 1452]. M. [289.  
 1453-1455. 15 (*cf.* 39). 99 (*cf.*  
 396). 100. 101]; v. *etiam ind.*  
*IV, a. 144 et 151*  
 Maximus 435. [248. 251-255 (Max-  
 mus 253 b). 742. 792. 56].  
 Maxim. [863. 57]. Max. [249  
 (*cf.* 55). 250].  
 Maxm. v. Maxima, Maximin(a)  
 Meleager [1387 (*cf.* 363)]  
 Melichrysus [971]  
 Menander [829-833 (Menan. 832).  
 \*230]  
 Menile (*gen.* Meniles) [1375]  
 Mer. 1638  
 Merc.? 407  
 Merc. v. Mercurius  
 Mercat(or) 1579  
 Mercurialis 36  
 Mercurius 716. 756 [Merc. s(er.)].  
 1303. 407 (Merc.?)  
 Mercurius Ti. Cl(audi) Quin-  
 quat(ralis) 1077 (*cf.* 281) =  
 Merc. Cl. Quin. 1078  
 Merobaudes 1702<sup>add.</sup>  
 Mesobius Calpurni *vel* Calpurni(ae)  
 (ser.) 245  
 MESSALLA, *cos. a. 115, v. ind. IV*



- MESSALINVS [2190 (M[essal.]). **435**]  
 Messalinus [957. 958 (Messallin.). **260** (Messalli.)]  
 Metellus 1703  
 Metra. [965]  
     = (*ante manumissionem*) Metra.  
     Qurti **262**  
 Minna [884]  
 Mnester [555. 707. 708 (Mnest.)]  
     Mnester C. Calp(etani) Favoris  
     905  
 Moderatus 476. [**533** (*cf.* 2474)]  
 Modes(tus) [1062. 1255. 1459. **207**  
     (*cf.* 1256) (Mod.)]  
 Mon. [1377]  
 Mont(anus) 1216. Montanus [148.  
     149\*. 150]  
 Mur(inus) ser. (*v.* Myrinus) 288  
 Musophilus [907]  
 MVSSA (*gen.* Musses) [1375]  
 My. 565 f  
 Myrinus 40. 41. 288 (Mur. ser.).  
     1420. [1252 (Myrynus). **200.**  
     **201**]  
 Myro M. Ful(vi) ser. **305**  
 Myrtilus Domitiae P. f. Luc(illae)  
     [s?]erv. 1036 = M. D. P. f.  
     L. ser. 1037 = M. D. L. s(er.)  
     271 = Myrtilus Domitiae Lu-  
     cillae 270 (Dom. Lucill. 270 a)  
     = Myrtilus [L]ucill[ae] 2473  
 N. 6. [42. 539. 540 (*cf.* **153**). 1362.  
     2364. XIV S I, 5308, 23. 35.  
     **428. 443**]  
 N. *v.* Neritus  
 Naepos *v.* Nepos  
 Nam. *vel* Am. [**33**]  
 Narcis(sus) [1451]  
 Natalis 278. [950. 1345. 1346]  
     Natalis Domitiae P. f. Lucillae  
     1038  
 M. Naut. q(uaestor) *Praeneste*  
     2303  
 Nearcus Mar(ci) C. s(er.) 1270  
 Neicei *gen.* [**431**]  
 Neo [**336** (*cf.* 1280)add.]  
 Nepo(s) [1363]. Naepos [2387].  
     Nep. [1364-1366]  
     Nepos Cn. Domiti Trophimi 1118  
     (Niepos 1118 b)  
 Nepotianus 1704  
 Nereus C. Caes(aris) (*ser.*) 1404  
     = Nereus **370**  
 Nerian(us) [2299]  
 Neritus [644] = N. [42]?  
 NERVA [2314]  
 Ni.? [830]  
 Nicanor [1193]  
 Nice [692. 693 (*gen.* Nices). 694  
     (*gen.* Nicen(is))]  
 Niceporus 1979  
 Nicolavu(s) Fulvi M. se[r.] **306**  
 Nicomachus [1306]  
     Nicomachus Domiti Tulli 260  
     (Dom. Tul.). 261  
     = Nicomachus Domit(iae) Lu-  
     cil(lae) 1014 (Dom. Lucill.  
     1014 b, Dom. Lucillae 1014 c)  
 Niepos *v.* Nepos  
 NIGER *v. ind.* IV, a. 117 et 138  
 Niger [**256** (Nig.). **257. 373** (*cf.*  
     1413)]  
 Niphetus [1194]  
 Nisus [1205]  
 Nom.? [2390]  
 Numidian(us) [435]  
 Nychius [**567** (*cf.* 2556)]  
 Nysus [968]  
 O. [1146?]  
 O. *v.* Onesimus  
 OLYBRIVS v(ir) c(larissimus)  
     *idem qui plenius nominatur*  
     Anicius Hermogenianus Oly-

- brius, *cos. a. 395, maritus Aniciae Iulianae* (*v. supra*) 1705  
 Olybriu(s) [254]  
 [O]lympus 1338  
 Onesimus 440 (Ones.). 1339. [485? (One.). 1492 (= 596) (O.). 1503. 2217? (One.). 17 (Ones.). 219. 595 (*cf.* 2048) (Honesi.)]  
 Onesimus Plotillae ser. 2341  
 Operata (*gen. Operate*) [680]  
 Optatus [387. 1281. 1282 (= 2464). 2412 (Opt.)]  
 ORFITVS, *cos. a. 110, v. ind. IV*  
 Orpheus [2395]  
 Os. Ati Chi. (servus?) 1350  
 Osc. [881]  
  
 P. 878. [33-36 (*cf.* 12). 401. 524. 539? 1157. 1174? 1414. 2436. 11 (*cf.* 37). 13]  
 P( ) C. Q. Septicior[um] *vel*  
 P. C. Q. Septicior[um] 2385  
 P. v. Pamphilus, Pil., Po., POLLIO, PRAESENS, Pri., Priscus, PVDENS, Pudens  
 Pa. 565 g  
 PACAT(VS) [2189]; *v. etiam ind. IV, a. 147*  
 Pae. [531]  
 Paetina, *potest esse AELIA PAETINA, uxor Claudii qui postea imperavit* (*cf. PIR I 47 n. 305*)  
 196. 197  
 PAETINVS, *cos. a. 123, v. ind. IV*  
 PAETVS [842. 843. 844]  
 Pallas 390  
 Palm[a] [2166]  
 Pamphilus [67. 68 (Pamphi. 68 b). 84 (Pamphi.). 101. 1332 (= 1977)]. Pamp. [65. 66]. P. [85. 86. 102 (*cf.* 34). 524? 28]  
 Pamphil(us) Ceion(i) C. s(er.) 1355 (= 477 A = \*2283)  
 Pamph(i)lus Fab(i) Fig. ? 422  
 Pan. v. Pantagatus  
 Pannychus 960. [746 (Pannycus)]  
 PANSA, *cos. a. 122, v. ind. IV*  
 Pantagatus [159]. Pantagat. [564].  
 Pantaga. [563 p. q]. Pantag. 566. [563 a. b. e-k. r]. Pantg. [563 c. d]. Pan. [565]  
 Papiri(anus?) 354  
 Parhasius [2492]  
 Passarus [2000]. Pass. [12. 207. 674 (Pas.)]  
 Pater. . 1307  
 [P]atrobius L. Domiti Lupi 2248  
 PAVLINA [516 (Paul.). 147]  
 Paulin(a) [838. 232]  
 . . . . a C. f(ilia) Paul(lina *vel* -la) 2050  
 PAVLINVS [415. 416 (Paulin.). 417. 105 (Paul.). 106 (Paulinus)]  
 Paulinus 743. [389]  
 Pe. . [408]  
 Pec. [91]  
 . . . ntilius Pecu. . . 2051  
 Peculiaris 63 (Peculiar.). 64 *ser* 24 (*cf.* 64 b). [2382]  
 Pedianus [2472]  
 PEDO, *cos. a. 115, v. ind. IV*  
 Pelagia [296 (*cf.* 2012)]  
 Peplus [2279]  
 Periander [1206. 2427. 2451 (= 508)]  
 PETRONIA [419]  
 Ph.? [590]  
 Ph. M. f.? 2259  
 Pharnac(es) 100  
 Phasis [1536] = L. Fasis 405  
 Phi. v. Philetus  
 Phidelis [625. 628. 190 (*cf.* 1947) (Phidel.)]  
 Phil. 597. 1466 *vel* [1466]

- Phil. v. Philtatus  
 Phila [301. 1217]  
 . . . . ulius Philargur[us] 2285  
 Phileros 1359. [1392. **367**]  
     Phileros M. Fulvi ser. 1358 a  
         (*vocabulo* ser. *deleto* = **307**).  
         1358 b (= 2446)  
 Philetus 1360. 2408. **462**. [942  
     (Phi.). 943. 944. 1353]  
 Philippus 1277. [1154. 1207]  
 Philocalus [2398]  
 Philocles Curt(i) 967  
 Philoda(mus) **434**  
 Philomusus [1295. 1333 (Philo-  
     mus.)]  
 Philoxenus [839]  
 Philtatus-  
     Filtatus [2309] = Phil. [2310]  
 Pho. v. Phoebus  
 Phoebe [2346]  
 Phoebus **165** (*cf.* 1841 = 2373)  
     (Phoeb.). **548**. [677 (Pho.  
     677 b. c? \*d). 678. 679. \***205**  
     (Pho.?)]  
     . . . . nius Phoebus 703  
 Phronimus 1361. [910. \*2083. **247**]  
 Pia [349]  
 Pierus [1283 (= **521 a**). **521 b**]  
     Pierus Q. P. N. (*servus*) 1362  
 Pil. [88] = P. [89]  
 Pisentinus [166]  
 Pius [350]  
 Planta [2294]  
 PLAVTIANVS [311]. Plaut. [47.  
     160 (*cf.* **45**). 184. 185. 197.  
     \*206. 240. 241 (*cf.* **571**). 406.  
     **21. 46. 47. 190** (*cf.* 1947)].  
     Pla. . . [52]  
 Plocamus [798. 1410]  
 Plotilla 2341  
 Po. *vel* p(er) O. 30  
 Po. 565 h. [2210 = P. **251**]  
 Pol. *vel* Apol. 16  
 Pol. v. POLLIO  
 Poli. [2413]  
 Politicus [1483]  
 Poll(a) [235]  
 POLLIO [520. 1179. 1180. **365** (*cf.*  
     2013). **366** (*cf.* 1993)]. Poll.  
     [2231 a. c. 2232]. Pol. [1181 a.  
     2231 b. 2233. 2234]. P. [1181  
     b. 1182]  
 Pollio [1226. **539**]  
 POMPEIANVS, *cos. a. 136, v. ind.*  
     IV  
 PONTIANVS [388 (*cf.* 2052)];  
     *v. etiam ind. IV, a. 131 et 135*  
 Ponticus [2449 (*cf.* **538**)]  
 Pontius? [915]  
 Popisc. (*si cognomen est; cf. ind.*  
     I, Hor. Popisc.) 676  
 Posidonius [205]. Posido. [677 b].  
     Posid. [677 a. c. \*d. 678 a. \*b].  
     Pos. [678 c]  
 Potamo [2162]  
 Pothymenus 1384  
 Poti. [2267. \*2268?]  
 Potiscus [2399 *l(ib.)*. 2400 *l(ib.)*.  
     **461**]  
 Pr. [2360 (vel P. R.?). **239** (*cf.*  
     859)]  
 Pr. v. PRAESENS, Pri., Pro., Pro-  
     culus  
 PRAENESTINVS [913 (Prenesti-  
     nus 913 b)]  
 Praenest(inus) [2356]  
 PRAESENS [331]; *v. etiam ind.*  
     IV, a. 139 et 153  
 Pri. [15 a (= P. 15 b). 499 (Pr.).  
     **135**]  
 Prim. [357]  
     Prim. P. P. 862  
     Prim. v. Primilla  
     [Pri]m. Arruntiae Camillae v.  
     Primitivus  
 Prima [2318]

- Primi. ser. v. Primitivus  
 Primigeni(a) lib. [745 (*cf.* 587)]  
 Primigenius 528 (Primig.). 1385.  
     **322** (Primige.). **436** ser. [514  
     (Primig[e.]). 522. 789. 1293.  
     2273. **522. 530**]  
 Primigenius duo(rum) Domitio-  
 r(um) ser. 1000 a-c = Primi-  
 genius d. D. 1000 d = Primi-  
 genius Domitior. se(r.) 1000  
 e-i (s. 1000 h-i)  
 = [Pr]imigen(ius) [C]n. Do-  
 m(iti) Tull(i) **496** = Primig.  
 [Dom.] Tulli 2482<sup>add.</sup>  
 = Primigenius [D(omitiae)] P.  
 f(iliae) Lucillae 2483 = [Pri]-  
 migenius [Lucill]aes ser.  
 2484<sup>add.</sup>  
 Primigeniu(s) Fulviae Secund.  
     **312**  
 Primilla [140] = Primul(a) [139]  
     Prim. [630]  
 Primio Q. Sulpici (*servus*) 1461  
 Primitius v. Primitivus  
 Primitivus 450. \*1858 (Primiti-  
 bus). \*2505 (Primit. ser.?).  
     [10 (Primit.). 183. 184. 208  
     (*cf.* 50). 747 (Primitibus).  
     1085. \*512]  
 Primitius Arruntiae Camilli f(i-  
 liae) 113 = [Pri]m. Arrun-  
 tiaae Camillae **40**  
 Primitivus Domiti Tulli 262  
 = Primitivus Domitiae Lucill.  
     1015 (Primitivus . . . . Lucil-  
     lae 1015 b)  
     = Primitius Dom. Lucillae  
     1016  
 Primul(a) v. Primilla  
 Primus 1386. **398**. [536 (536 c =  
     536 b *cognomine eraso*). 667.  
     668. 885. 1334. 1417. 2345.  
     2441]  
 Primus A. Aristi Menan(dri) 832  
 Primus Q. Sulp(ici) Aphy. 284  
 Princeps \*2053 *vel* [\*2053]. [2343]  
 Princeps Pomponi Corvi servos  
     **454**  
 Pris. v. Priscus  
 Prisc. . . . **536**  
 Prisci. v. Priscinus  
 PRISCINVS, *cos. a. 110, v. ind. IV*  
 Priscinus [133. 1412. **372** (Prisci.)]  
 PRISCVS [951 (Prisc.). 952. **258.**  
     **\*259**]; *v. etiam ind. IV, a. 159*  
 Priscus \***536. 563** ser. [48. 211  
     (Pris.). 702 (Prisc.). 977  
     (Prisus). 1195. 1347. 1351.  
     1366. 1367. 2294 (Prisc.).  
     2353. 2380. 2468. **37. 38.** (P.).  
     **319. 531. 558.** (*cf.* 2506)]  
 Priscus Afri Domiti **486** (Af.  
     **486 b**)  
 = Priscus duor. Domitiorum  
     2485 (= **493**)  
 Priscus Gaviae Amyllae 355. **92**  
 = Pris. Gav. Amyl. **93**  
 Prisus v. Priscus  
 Pro. [1056 (*cf.* **279**). 1057 (Pr.).  
     **418** (*bis*)]  
 Pro. v. Procula, Proculus  
 Prob. [1054. 1055]  
 Proc. v. Processus, Proculus  
 Processus [142. 2313 a (Proces.).  
     2313 b (Proc.)]  
 Procill(a) [1468]  
 Procula [\*646. 647. 648. 649 (Pro-  
     cul.). 650 a. 651 b. 1158. 2493.  
     **\*193. 194**]. Procla [650 b  
     (*gen.* Procle). 651 a (*gen.*  
     Procles). 1147. 1157 (*gen.*  
     Proclaes). 1159. **195** (*gen.*  
     Proclaes)]. Pro. [**297**]. Pr. . . .  
     [587]  
 Proculus 1560. [364. 418. 523. 780  
     a. c. 1051. 1253. 1254. 2488.

2507. **540** (*cf.* 2487)]. Procul.  
[363. 739. 1253 c]. Procu.  
[90 a (*cf.* 30)].  
Proclus **32**. [90 b (*cf.* 31). 143.  
205. 714. 780 b. 793. **471**].  
Procl. [417. 1259]. Proc.  
[780 d. 1210. 1211. 2157.  
\*2458]. Pro. [95. 1056 (*cf.*  
**279**)?] Pr. [1057? **213** b].  
P. . . [**213** a]  
PROPINQVVS, *cos. suff. a. 126, v.*  
*ind. IV*  
Protus **437** (*cf.* 2101). [820]  
Prudens [55. 56. 57\*. 58. 82]  
Pt. 565 i  
PVDENS [349. 1433. 1434]. Pud.  
350. 1430-1432. 1435-1438.  
**90** (*cf.* 346). **379**. P. [1429.  
1439-1441. **380. 381**].  
Pudens 2440 *ser.* [691]. Pudes 2493  
*s(er.)*. [**41** (*cf.* 2071)]. Pude.  
[368]. Pud. [**182. 183**]. P.  
[369].  
Pudes v. Pudens  
Pup. 590 (*vel* [590])  
Pupul(us) [953]  
Pylades *cf.* **465**  
Pyrallis [XIV S I, 5308, 30]  
Pyramis [854. **191**]  
Pyramus [**506**]  
Pyramus Encolpi Aug(usti) dis-  
p(ensatoris) arcarius **537**  
Pyrrihus 1391. [1284]  
  
Q. **121**. [870 (*v.* Quintilla)]  
Qq., Qu. v. Quinquatralis  
Quad . . . 1957  
Quad. v. Quadratilla, QVADRA-  
TVS  
Quadratilla [860. (Quad.). 861.  
863 (Quadratill.)]  
QVADRATVS [731 (QVAD. 731  
b)]; *v. etiam ind. IV, a. 142*  
Quadratus [**202** (*cf.* 1846)]  
Quartilla [1477. 1478. (Quart.)  
**346**]  
Quartio 1063. 1064  
Quartus [2394]  
Quet- v. Quiet-  
Qui. v. QVIRINALIS  
QVIET(VS) [**460** (*cf.* 2397)]  
Quietus **516**. [2478 (Quetus)]  
Quin. v. Quinquatralis, Quintilla  
Quinc(tianus?) [2272]  
Quinquatralis [1502]. Quinquat-  
tral. [1501 (*cf.* **393**)]. Quin-  
oatr. (*sic*) [1075 b] Quinquat.  
[1069. 1077]. Quinqua. [1075  
a. 1076]. Quinqu. [1070. 1500].  
Quin. [1072. 1073. 1078]. Qu.  
[1071]. Qq. [1074. 1079]  
Quint. v. Quinta, Quintilla  
Quinta [575. 576 (Quint.)]  
Quintilla [642 (Quin.). 643. 871.  
872 (Quint.). 870? (Q.)]  
Quintill(a) Saeniani (*uxor*) 644  
QVINTILLVS, *cos. a. 159, v. ind.*  
*IV*  
Quintin(a) [761]  
†Qu(i)racus? **613**  
M. Quir(inus) *vel* Quir(inalis) **439**  
(*cf.* 1995)  
Quirin(us) *vel* Quirin(alis) **440**  
QVIRINALIS [1445]=Qui. [1446]  
  
R. 877? 1393? **151**? [544. 2365].  
R. v. Rufus  
R. . . . [\*1887]  
Rab. 598 (Ra. 598 b)  
Rabbaeus [310. 311. **81**<sup>add.</sup> \***616**  
(*add.*)]  
Ras. *vel* Gra. s(ervus) 1171  
Re. 1158; v. Restitutus  
Receptus [353]  
REGVLVS, *cos. a. 157, v. ind. IV*  
Relasin.? 2414  
Reptinus 2500  
Restituta [1126 (*cf.* **289**). 1455]



- Restitutus 446. 1142. 1398. 2491  
*ser.* [730. 908. 1158? (Re.).  
 1278. 1285. 2328. **509.** \***524**  
 (Res. . . .). **525.** **555**] Reti-  
 tutus (*sic*) [**523**]. Restutus  
 [289. **69** (*cf.* 286) (Rest.).  
 \*1987? (Rest. . . .)]  
 [Re]stitut[us Q. O]pp(i) Ius-  
 t(i) 2486  
 Retutus *v.* Restitutus  
 Rhodinus *ser.* **538**  
 Rhodo [**338.** **339** (*cf.* 1155)]  
 Rodo Ful(vi) (*servus*) 2444  
 (= **301**)  
 Romana [174. 181]  
 Romanus [576. 676. 1186]  
 Romnus (*sic*) [**347**]  
 Roscianus [351. 2435]  
 Roscianus Cn. Domiti Agatho-  
 buli 275 = Roscianus Domiti  
 Agathobuli 274. 276 (Domit.  
 Agathob.)  
 Ru. *vel* Pu. *vel* Tru. 1613. 1633  
 Ru. 1652  
 Ru. *v.* RVFVS  
 Ruf. 1653 [684. **441.** **452**]  
 Ruf. = RVF(INVS), *cos. a.* 142,  
*v. ind. IV*  
 Rufina [774]  
 RVFINVS [2322]; *v. praeterea*  
*ind. IV, a.* 131, 142, 153  
 Rufinus 1588 (Rufi. 1588 a). 2174.  
 [602. 2173. 2204. **218** (*vel*  
 Rufus)].  
 Rufio [781. 836. 837. 1374]  
 RVFVS [633. 663. 664]. Ru.  
 [**200**]; *v. praeterea ind. IV, a.*  
 128  
 Rufus 599. [652. 653. 882. 1136.  
 1137. 1298. 1449. **206**<sup>add.</sup> **218**  
 (*vel* Rufi[nus]). **290.** **338.**  
**509**]. R. [683. **339** (*cf.* 1155)]  
 Rus.? 316. 1403?
- RVST(ICVS), *cos. II a.* 162, *v.*  
*ind. IV*  
 Ryt. [822]  
 S. 1715-1718? **132.** **604.** [645. 1352.  
 1959. 1986. 2359? 2369. **38.**  
**42?** **352** (*cf.* 1985)]  
 S. = (I)s(aurica)? 56  
 S. *v.* Satrinus, SEVERVS, SOL-  
 LERS, Successus, Sulpicianus  
 Sab. *v.* SABINIANVS  
 Sabin . . . (*immo* Zabda?) [\***413**]  
 Sabina [431. 1235. 1236 (Sabin.)]  
 Sabin(us) *vel* Sabin(ianus) 1555.  
 1576  
 SAB(INIANVS), *cos. a.* 155, *v.*  
*ind. IV*  
 Sabinianus [753. 754 (Sarinianus  
 754 b *errore*)]  
 Sabinilla [354]  
 SABINVS [2187]  
 Sabinus [782. 933. 1286. 2315.  
 2349. X 2, 8048, 2. XIV S I,  
 5308, 41. **478** (Sab. . . .)]  
 Sabinus Nerei C. Caes(aris sc.  
 servi) vicarius 1404 = Sabinus  
 Nerei **370**  
 SACERDOS, *cos. a.* 158, *v. ind. IV*  
 Saenianus 644  
 Sagitta s(ervus) 842  
 Sal. *v.* Salvianus, Salvius  
 Salassus [1481]  
 Salv. *vel* Salu. [2171]  
 Salvian(us) [594. 595 (Sal. 595  
 b)]  
 Salvitto [2419]  
 Salvius [2337. **477 a**]. Sal. [**477 b**]  
 Salutaris [1093 (= **499**)]  
 Sam. [2208]  
 Samsaca Calpetani s(ervus) **76**  
 Sarinianus *v.* Sabinianus  
 Sarinus [**315**]  
 Satrianus [689. 2001]



- Satrinus [104 (Satrin.). 108. **39**  
(*cf.* 109)]. Satr. [103. 1427].  
Sat. [107]. S. [105]; *cf.* Sat-  
rianus
- Satur. *v.* Saturninus
- Saturni. . . . **218**
- [Sa]turnina [365]. Saturnin. [1221  
a]. Saturn. . [\*1222]. Sa-  
turni. [1218 a. 1219. **323**].  
Saturn. [1218 b. 1220. \*1221  
b]
- Saturninus 616 (Saturni.). 1581.  
[2453. **375** (*cf.* 2034). **376** (*cf.*  
2250)]. Satur. 1706
- Saturus [1307. **340**<sup>add.</sup>]
- Sax. *v. ind.* I
- Sc. [1393 (*fortasse* Sc(apulae?))]  
Scafa [705]
- Scapula figulus? 1415
- Sc(apulae)? [1393]
- Sceptus [1299]
- Sec. *v.* Secundio, Secundus
- Secun. *v.* Secundilla, Secundio, Se-  
cundus
- Secund. *v.* Secundinus, Secundio,  
Secundus
- Secunda [610. 611]
- Secund(a) *vel* Secund(illa) [**312**]
- Secundi. *v.* Secundinus, Secundio
- Secundill(a) [**382**]. Secun. [1127]
- Secundinus [718. 1083. 1084. 2428.  
**532**]. Secundi. [728. 1081.  
**590**]. Secund. [1082]
- Secundio [357 (= **526**). 1183 a.  
**527 a**]. Secundi. [1287]. Secun.  
[\*2465 b. \***527 b**]. Sec. [1183 b.  
2465 a]
- Secundus 1416. 2409. [347. 534. 535  
(Sec. 535 c). 626. 917. 996  
(Secun.). 1156. 2416. **295. 328.**  
**491. 535**]
- Sedatus [637 (Sed.). 638. **377**]
- Seneca (*gen.* Senece) [1605]
- Sep. 1707
- SEPTIM(IANVS) [**411** (*cf.*  
2159)]
- Septimus 1708. [2291]
- Seren. *vel* Serenus [775]
- SERG(IANVS), *cos. a.* 132, *v. ind.*  
IV
- Serr(anus) [**3** (*cf.* 1871)]
- Serv. [872]
- Servandus [136. 137. 872? (Serv.).  
1174. **248**]
- SERVIANVS, *cos. III a.* 134, *v.*  
*ind.* IV
- Sev. *v.* SEVERA, Severianus,  
SEVERVS
- Seve. *v.* SEVERA, SEVERVS, Se-  
verus
- SEVERA [427. 428. 429 (*gen.*  
Severaes). 433 (*gen.* Seve-  
res)]. Sever. [432]. Seve.  
[430]. Sev.? [\*431]
- Severa [256]
- Severianus 1639 a. 1648. 1709.  
Sev. 1639 b. c?  
= Severianus mag(ister) **614. 615**  
(*cf.* 1710)
- Severi(anus) *agnomen servi* 811  
(Sever. 811 e. f)
- SEVERVS [40. 292. 1452-1454. **14**  
(*cf.* 287). **18. 69** (*cf.* 286)].  
Sever. [38. 1455. **16**]. Seve.  
[954. **125**]. Sev. [41. 1451. **19.**  
**20**]. S. [**15** (*cf.* 39). **17. 99** (*cf.*  
396). **100. 101. 126**]; *v. etiam*  
*ind.* IV, a. 141, 146, 155, a. *inc.*  
*sub Hadriano*
- HADRIANVS SEVERVS **572**  
(*cf.* 294)
- SEVERVS v(ir) c(larissimus)  
1711
- Severus 1448. [151-153. 1288. 1382.  
2426. **400** (*cf.* 1526) (Seve.)]

- Sextio [1474]  
 Silianus 142  
 \*SILVAN(VS), *cos. a. 156?*, *v. ind.*  
     IV  
 Silva(nus) [570. **160** (Sil.)]  
 Silvinus [731 (Silv. 731 b)]  
 Similis **214** (*cf.* 723)  
 Sinda Caesaris (*servus*) 1128  
 SISENNA, *cos. a. 133*, *v. ind.* IV  
 So. . . . [2046]  
 Sobarus [2306] = Subarus [2307]  
 Socrate(s) Mar(ci) (*servus?*) **334**  
 SOLLERS [887 (Soll. 887 c). **241**].  
     S. [888]  
 Sopos 1450  
 Sosia [985. 986]. Sos. [487]  
 Sosumus Fulvi ser. **308**  
 Sotada [991]  
 Sotericus [1163]  
 Sozomen(a) [709 a] = Zosomen(a)  
     [709 b]  
 Spatalus [609]  
 Spendo [783]  
 Sperat(a) [**215**]  
 Speratus 2438 *ser.* [1443]  
 SQVILLA, *cos. a. 127*, *v. ind.* IV  
 St. [770. 1335]  
 St. *v.* Stator  
 Stab. Appi 2402  
 Stabilis [706]  
 Staius [918]  
 Staphilus **120**  
 Stator [1289. 1290. 2196. **337**<sup>add.</sup>].  
     St. [2466]  
 Ste. [2189]  
 Stephanus [1208. 1209. 1212 (*cf.*  
     **321**). **320**]. Step. [244. 1210.  
     1213]  
 STLOGA, *cos. a. 141*, *v. ind.* IV  
 Str. 1279. **7**  
 Strabo [528]  
 Su. . . . **403**  
 Suabilla [167]
- Suavillus [1291]  
 Suavis [1469. 2269]  
 Subarus *v.* Sobarus  
 Substitutus [767. 768]  
 Suc. *v.* Successus  
 Successianus [2336]  
 Successus **48** (*cf.* 198). **383**. [135.  
     \*489 (*cf.* **130**). 546. 596. 735.  
     1180. 1518. 1519. 1521-1523.  
     **43**. **107** (*cf.* 420). **134** (*cf.*  
     497). **398**. **399** (*cf.* 1520, 1524).  
     **400** (*cf.* 1526). **401** (*cf.*  
     1525)]. Succes. 447. [805. 870.  
     **129** (*cf.* 488). **397**].  
     Suc. 397. [202. 495. 496. **402**].  
     S. [490-494 (*cf.* **133**). **131**.  
     **132**].  
 Successus [134]. Suces. 225 *ser.*  
     741  
 Successus Dom(itiorum) Lu-  
     c(ani) et Tul(li) ser. 1001  
     = Successus Dom(itiae) P. f.  
     Lucill. ser. 1040  
 Successus M. H(erenni) P(ol-  
     lionis) s(er.) 1182  
 \*Sul. [2379]  
 Sulp. [584]. Sul. [955]  
 Sulpic(ianus) [1227 a. 1470. **325**].  
     Sulp. [1228 a. \*b? 1229 b].  
     Sul. [1227 b. 1229 a]. S.  
     [1228 c.]  
 SVM. c. *v.* v. SYMMACHVS  
 Suner(os) [972]  
 †Surrentinus 1712  
 Surus [776] (*vel* Masurus)  
 Symfilon [821]  
 SYMMACHVS 1714 = SVM-  
     (MACHVS) c(larissimus)  
     v(ir)? 1713  
 Symphorus [1164]  
 Syn. [1427]  
 Syntro(phus) 295. **572** (*cf.* 294)

- T. 1591. 2275. [28 (*vel t(egula)*). 498. 500-501 (*bis*). 502 a\*. 503 (= **136**). 770 (*vel St.*). 2366-2368. **139. 140** (*cf.* 502 b). **141. 142**]
- T. v. Tertulla
- Tampil(us) [2377]
- Tarula 2206
- Taurio (*vel T. Aur(elius) Io?*) 521
- Te. (v. Tertulla) [**138**]
- Tec. . . [1508]
- Telesphorus [**424 a** (*cf.* 2219). **424 b** (Telespho.)]
- Terco 1467
- Teres (*gen.* Terenis) [2323]
- Terminalis [2476]
- Tertius 843 *s(er.)*. 1042 (Tert.). 1044 a *ser.* (*verba* Tert. *ser. deleta in* 1044 b). 2498. [2332]
- Tertius A. Aristi Menandri 833
- Tertius Q. Art(i)culei Paeti *ser.* 844
- Tertius Domit(iae) P. f. Lucil(lae) 1041 = Tertius Dom. Luc. 1017 (= 2496). 1043 = Tert(ius) D(om.) L(ucil.) 129
- Ter(tius?) Ph. Pup. 590
- [Te]rtius Vimati [C]rescentis 2497
- Tertulla [524] = Te.? [**138**] = T.? [498. 500-502 a\*. 503 (= **136**). **137. 139. 140** (*cf.* 502 b). **141. 142**]
- Tha. *vel* Thas. [893]
- Tha. v. Thallus
- Thalam(us) [**419**]
- Thalamus Cn. Dom(iti) Tro(phimi) 1119 (*cf.* **288**)
- Thales [1336]
- Thallus **463**. [326. 327. 732 (Tha.). 1363. 1364 (Thal.). 1365]
- Thallus Iuliae Aug. l(ib.) 1473
- Thas. v. Tha.
- Thelcon [834]
- Theocritus [1263]
- Theodotus [526]
- Theopompus 2410
- Thes.? [390]
- These(us) [1148]
- Thet. [937]
- Thoas [**220**]
- Thr. [900]
- Ti. . [\*2386]
- Tib. [2384]
- Tiburtinus [1396. 1397. **368**]
- TIMOKΛΗΤOC 2522
- Tiridas **399** (*cf.* 1520, 1524)
- Tiro [**535**]
- TITIANVS [526. 527]; v. *etiam ind. IV, a. 127*
- Titianus [748 (Titia.). 769 (Tit.). 1466 (Titian.). 2178]
- Tognaeus [**529**]
- TORQVATVS, v. *ind. IV, a. 124, 128* (TORQVATVS ASPRENAS), 148 (TORQ.)
- Tr. [1480]
- Tr. v. Tran(quillus)
- Tran(quillus) [1228 (Tr. 1228 c)]
- Triferia [2467]
- Tritogen(es) [1241]
- Tro. v. Trophimus
- Troelus **317** (*cf.* 1176)
- Trop. v. Trophimus
- Trophimas? (*gen.* Trophimatis) 390
- Trophimus [269. 1112. 1114. 1116 c. 1117 (a = **503**). 1118 b. 1120. 2432]. Trophmus [1115 c (*cf.* **287**)]. Trophim. [1113. 1115 a. b]. Troph. [1116 a. 1118 a]. Trop. 701. Tro. [1116 d. 1119 (*cf.* **288**)]
- Trophimus Agathobuli Domiti Tulli 1003
- =Trophim(us) Agathobuli Domitia Lucillae 263. 264 (Lucil.)

- =Trophimus Cn. Domiti Agathobuli 1108  
 Tryphosa [1223]  
 TVLLVS [116. 259. 261 a. c. 262. 997. 999 a-c. 1003-1007. 2482. \*272. 490]. Tull. [258. 261 b. 989. 1002. 496]. Tul. [260. 991. 994. 1001. 488].  
 Turpio [1486]  
 Ty. 565 k  
 Tyrannus [253. 456 (Tyranus)]
- V. 493 (cf. 133). [1403? 1432. 1482? 2363].  
 V. v. VERVS, VRSVS  
 Va. 565 l. [132]  
 Va. v. Valens  
 Vale. v. Valerianus  
 Valens \*2552. 2553 (Vales). [335-337. 577 (Va. 577 b.). 2197. 2198]  
 Valens iun. [2199]  
 Vale(n)s Naevi 1489  
 Valer(ianus) [2167 (Vale. . .). 420. 421 (Vale.)]  
 VARA [1310]  
 Vara Quirin(i) *vel* Quirin(alis) (*uxor*) 440  
 VARVS, *cos. a. 134, v. ind. IV*  
 Varus [2297. \*2298]  
 Ve. v. VERVS  
 Velox Domitioru[m] 2509  
 Venustus [414. 2329]  
 Venustus C. Cal(petani) Faoris 474  
 Ver. 256  
 Ver. Euchar(i) Plo(tiae) Isau(ri-cae) ser(vi?) 54  
 Ver. v. Verna, VERVS, Verus  
 Verecundus [273. 330. 1348. 2459 (Verecun.). 212 (cf. 2068). 351]  
 Verna 1735\*. [220. 221 (Berna 221 b). 222 (Ver.). 532. 152 (gen. Vernaes)]  
 VERVS *qui plenius nominatur* (M.)  
 ANNIVS VERVS, *maritus Domitiae P. f(iliae) Lucillae, pater Marci (Anni Veri) qui postea imperavit, in praetura decessit post a. 128/9 (cf. PIR I 119 n. 696) 131. 617. 618. 619\*. 1049. 1050. 1068. 1072. 1077. 1078. 1080. 1081. 1082. 1085. 1089. 1090 a. 41 (cf. 2071), 278\* (immo 617). Ver. 1071. 1086. 1090 b\**  
 VERVS [454. 455. 478. 479 a. 806 a-c. 807. 808. 1875. 120]. Ver. [246. 453. 479 b. 481. 799. 800. 802. 805. 121 (cf. 1809)]. Ve. [806 d. 221]. V. 245. 480. 115. 222]; *v. etiam ind. IV, a. 121 et 126*  
 Verus [1453. \*1962]  
 Vesia(nus)? *vel* Vesia(ni)? [1495]  
 Veteran[us] [2480. 535]  
 VETVS, *v. ind. IV, a. 116 et 150*  
 Vet(us) [22]  
 Viator [C.] Calpet[ani] Liviani 476  
 Victo. v. Victoria  
 Victor 1515. 1580. †613? [627. 629. 1518 (Vict.). 2429 (Vic.). 105]  
 Victor s(ervus) Aur(eli) Cae(saris) et Faustin(ae) Aug(ustae) 2513  
 Victoria 1397. 368 (Victo.)  
 Victorina 1516  
 Viientus *vel* Viiens [1349]  
 Vindex [1424. 1441 (Vin.). 2447]  
 Vitalian(us) [1612]  
 Vitalis [453-454 (Vit.). 455 (Vita.). 835. 1179]. Bitalis 11 (cf. 37)  
 Vital(is) Aug(usti) n(ostri) libert. 1531

- Vitalis duor(um) Domitior(um)  
 Tull. . . . . 272  
 Vitalis Cn. Domiti Trophimi  
 1120 (Vitaliq. 1120 b)  
 Ulpianus [504-508 (Ulpian.). 18  
 (Ulp.). 143. 580 (*cf.* 509)]  
 Volus. 929 = Vol. 252  
 . . . . . Vol. aed(ilis) *Praeneste*  
 2300  
 VOP(ISCVS), *cos. a. 114, v. ind.*  
*IV*  
 Urbanus *cf.* 465  
 Urbica [1488]  
 Urbicus 370 = Uribcus (*sic*) 367 =  
 Uribus 366\*  
 VRSVS [521. 522]. V. [148]  
 VS.? [681]  
 Ust. 821 b  
 Utilis 566
- X. [520]  
 Xanthus [470]
- Y.? 481
- Z. *v.* Zosimus  
 Zabda [809 (*gen.* Zabdae 809 a;  
 Zabdaes 809 b)]; *cf.* [413?]  
 Zmaragdus [2418]  
 Zosimus [643. 2257. 309/10<sup>add.</sup>].
- Zosim. 634. [425]. Zos. 162.  
 163\* (*immo* 581). [245. 246.  
 581]. Zo. 582. 164. Z. [247]  
 Zos(imus) An( . . . . . anus)?  
 418  
 Zosimus M. A(nni) V(eri) s(er-  
 vus) 806 d\* (Ve?). 222 =  
 Zosimus Anni Veri 806 a. b  
 (Zosim.) = Zos. Ann. Veri  
 806 c  
 Sosumus Fulvi ser(vus) 308  
 Zosimus L. Iuli Rufi 633. 664  
 [Z]osimus Iuliae Dyna. . . 436  
 Zosomen(a) *v.* Sozomen(a)  
 Zot(icus) 432
- . . . . . alis 1857  
 . . . epro(n) *vel* . . . epronius  
 465 a  
 . . . etan.? 35 (*cf.* 2069)  
 \* . . . iceladus M. Fulvi ser. 304  
 (= 1894)  
 \* . . . masmus [C]al(petani) Fa-  
 or(is) 2423  
 . . . qni(us) Domitiaes Lucillaes  
 2517  
 . . . FRACVI . . . [D]omitio-  
 ru[m] 494  
 . . . scen. . . 2387  
 . . . ul. [2191]

### III

#### IMPERATORES ET DOMUS EORUM REGES GOTHORUM

- C. CAESAR AVGVSTVS (Cali-  
 gula)  
 C. Caes(ar) <1404>  
 IVLIA TITI *filia*  
 Iulia Aug. <1473>
- DOMITIANVS *v.* DOMITIA DO-  
 MITIANI  
 DOMITIA DOMITIANI (*uxor*)  
 Domitia Domitiani 548. 550  
 Domitia Domit. 553



- Domit. Domitian. 555. Domit.  
Dom. 549 a. b. Dom. Domit.  
552  
Dom. Dom. 549 d. 556. Dom.  
Do. 551. D. D. 554. 557. 558
- TRAIANVS**  
Imp. Cae(sar) Ne(rva) T(ra-  
ianus) Aug. Ger(manicus)  
Dac(icus) 542  
Imp. Trai. Cae. Aug. Ger. Dac.  
439  
Traianus Aug. G(ermanicus)  
D(acicus) 440  
Imp. Caes. Ner. Tra. Aug. 312  
Imp. Cae. Tra. Aug. 313  
(Tro.). 314  
Trai. 6  
*Ex lateribus nomine CAESARIS  
signatis huc videntur pertinere:*  
472? 473? 545. 709-711. 745  
(cf. 587). <811 d-f>. 154.  
155. 208
- PLOTINA**  
Plotina Augusti (*uxor*) <921  
a>  
Plotina Augusta 700  
Plotina Aug. 441. 694. 698. 699  
(*gen.* Plotinaes). 702. <921  
b>. 110  
Plotin. Aug. 442. Plot. Aug.  
693  
[P]lo. Aug. 703. Pl. Aug. 691.  
692. 695. 701
- HADRIANVS**  
*In lateribus urbanis Hadriani  
nomen non occurrit; sed ex  
lateribus nomine CAESARIS  
notatis huc pertinent:* 317-320.  
335. 358-362. 373-375. 471.  
536. 543. 544. 704-707. <810.  
811 a-c. 812. 813>. 119. 211
- SABINA**  
*immo* [G]ab(inius) Aug(us-  
talis), *v. ind. I*
- L. AELIVS CAESAR**  
*in consulatu a.* 136 (*ante adop-  
tionem*), *a.* 137 (*post adop-  
tionem*); *v. ind. IV*
- MATIDIA** socrus Hadriani  
Matidia Aug. 209. Mat. Aug.  
210
- ANTONINVS PIVS**  
*privatus:*  
Arrius Antoninus 92 (cf. 569).  
93  
Ful(vus) Ant(oninus) 94  
Antoninus 95  
*post obitum Hadriani:*  
Imp. Antonin(us) Aug. 110  
(Aug. Pius 735)  
*in consulatu a.* 139, 140, 145;  
*v. ind. IV*  
*Ex lateribus nomine CAESARIS  
signatis huc pertinent:* 369.  
390? 708
- FAVSTINA** maior  
*privata:*  
Faustina 714. 212 (*gen.* Faus-  
tinaes)
- M. AVRELIVS**  
*vivo Antonino Pio:*  
Aurel(ius) Caes(ar) n(oster)  
225  
Aurelius Caes. 715. 716  
*Ex lateribus nomine CAESARIS  
signatis huc pertinent:* 717.  
718. Cf. *praeterea lateres*  
AVRELI CAESARIS et  
FAVSTINAE AVG. (*infra*)  
*post mortem Antonini Pii:*  
Imp. M. Aurelius Antoninus  
201  
M. Aurelius Antonin(us) 177  
*Ex lateribus nomine AVGVSTI  
signatis huc pertinent:* 370.



754. 757. 758  
*in consulatu a. 140, 145, 161;*  
*v. ind. IV*
- AVRELIVS CAESAR et FAVS-  
TINA AVGVSTA  
*vivo Antonino Pio (a. 155-161):*  
M. Aurel. Caes. et Faustina  
Aug. 720  
Aurelius Caes. et Faustina  
Aug. 401. 622 (*cf.* 189). 719.  
<2513 (Aur. Caes.)>  
Aurel. Caes. et Faustina. 45
- FAVSTINA minor  
Faustina Aug(usta) n(ostra)  
211  
Faus. Aug. n. 400 (Aus. *sic*).  
721 (Faust.). 726. 730  
Faustina Aug. 133. 161. 186.  
211. 398 (Fautina 398 b).  
620 (*bis*). 722. 724 (Auc.).  
728. 1750. 214 (*cf.* 723)  
(*gen.* Faustines).  
Faustn. (*sic*) Aug. 620.  
Fausti. Aug. 102.  
Faust. Aug. 134. 621. 721.  
725 (Aug. *om.*). 729.  
Faus. Aug. 399. 400 (Aus.).  
726. 727. 730. *Cf. praeterea*  
*lateres AVRELI CAESARIS*  
*et FAVSTINAE AVG.*  
(*supra*)
- ANNIA (CORNIFICIA) FAV-  
STINA soror MARCI im-  
peratoris  
Annia Faustina 731 (An. Faus.  
731 b)
- L. VERVS  
*vivo Hadriano:*  
L. Ceio(nius) Com(modus)  
C(aesaris) f(ilius) 732 (*a.*  
138)
- imperante Antonino Pio:*  
L. Ael(ius) Caes(ar) Com(mo-  
di) f(ilius) 734  
L. Ael(ius) Caes(ar) 733 (*a.*  
148)  
L. Aelius Aug(usti) Pii f(ilius)  
735 (*a. 150*)  
L. Aelius 215 (*a. 153*)  
L. Aurelius Commodus 738.  
739  
L. Aurelius 216  
L. Aurel(ius) Caes(ar) 740  
*post mortem Antonini Pii:*  
L. Aurelius Verus Aug. 586  
(*cf.* 736)  
L. Verus Aug. 737  
*in consulatu a. 154, 161; v. ind.*  
*IV*
- M. AVRELIVS et L. VERVS (*a.*  
161-169)  
Augusti 367. Augus(ti) 386. II  
(= duo) Aug(usti) 385; *cf.*  
*praeterea ind. IV, a. 161*
- COMMODVS  
M. Aurel. Antoninus Comm.  
741  
L. Aur. Comm. Aug. 380 (*a.*  
191/2)  
Commodus Aug. n(oster) 162  
(Com. Aug. n.). 402. 742.  
743  
Comm. Aug. domin(us) n(os-  
ter) 541 a. *Commodi nomen*  
*deletum:* 541 b  
Imp. Como. Aug. 135. 43  
Comm. Aug. 623  
*Ex lateribus CAESARIS nomine*  
*signatis huc videtur pertinere:*  
403
- SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS  
dominus n(oster) L. Septimius  
Severus Aug. 279  
*Annis 193-198 attribuendi sunt*  
*ex lateribus AVGVSTI nomine*

- signatis*: 158. 163. 190. 371?  
413? 426? 686? 753  
*ex lateribus DOMINI titulo*  
*notatis*: 188. 189? 192. 213.  
323. 329? 687? 763?  
SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS et AN-  
TONINUS  
(*a. 198-211*)  
Augg. nn. 44. 159. 166. 181 (*a.*  
*205-211*). 182. 183. (*a. 205-*  
*211*). 195. 196. 205. 215-  
220. 238 (*a. 205-211*). 324.  
325. 382. 383. 602. 628. 629.  
689. 690. 766 (Augusti nn.).  
767. 769 a  
domini nn. 165. 180 (dd. nn.).  
405 (*a. 205-211*): 770  
domini nostri Augg. 768. 771?  
772. 773. 774 (dom. nn.  
Augg.)  
SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS et AN-  
TONINUS et GETA (*a. 209-*  
*211*)  
Auggg. nnn. (= *tres Augusti*  
*nostri*) 48  
ANTONINUS (Caracalla)  
Imp. M. Aur(elius) Antoni-  
n(us) Aug. 424  
M. Aurelius Antoninus Aug.  
n(oster) 408. 217  
d(ominus) n(oster) Antoninus  
Aug. 688  
dominus n. Antoninus 744  
*Ex lateribus notas exhibentibus*  
AVG. N., D. N. *huc pertinent*:  
Aug. n. 157 (August. n.). 164  
(n. *erasum*). 174. 178. 193.  
194. 203. 214. 222? 237. 404.  
425. 624-626. 769 b  
d(ominus) n(oster) 761  
dominus nt. Aug. 155 (dom.).  
381 (d. n. Aug.). 762 (n.  
762 b)
- DIOCLETIANVS et MAXIMI-  
ANVS et CONSTANTIVS et  
GALERIVS (*a. 293-305*)  
Augg. et Caess. nn. (= *duo*)  
*Aug(usti) et (duo) Caes(a-*  
*res) n(ostris)*) 1564. 1616.  
1627. 1628  
CONSTANTINVS  
d(ominus) n(oster) Constan-  
tinus Aug. 1656. \*1657  
CONSTANS  
d. n. Constans Aug. 1658  
CONSTANTIVS II  
seculum Constantianum 1542.  
1543  
VALENTINIANVS II  
d. n. Fl(avius) Valentinianus  
Aug. 1659  
ARCADIUS  
d. n. Arcadius Aug. 1660 a
- LATERES NOTAS EXHIBENTES CAES.  
N., CAES., AVG. N., AVG., DOM.  
N., AVGG. NN., DOMINI NN.  
Caesar n. 115 (*T,H*). 320 (*H*).  
361 (*H*). 568 (*H,P*). 2 (*T,H*).  
<311 a-c (*H*)>  
Caes. n. 280 (*T,H*). 318 (*H?*).  
322 (*H,P*). 359 (*H*). 360 (*H*).  
363 (*H,P*). 364 (*H,P*). 368  
(*H,P*). 375 (*H*). 390 (*P?*). 471  
(*H*). 473 (*T?*). 567 (*H,P*).  
704 b (*H*). 705 (*H*). 707  
(*HP*). 708 (*P*). 709-711 (*T*).  
713 (*H?*). 718 (*M*). 745 (*T*).  
119 (*H*). <310 (*H*)>  
Cae. n. 317\*. 319 (*H*). 335 (*H*).  
358 (*H*). 373 (*H*). 374 (*H*).  
472 (*T?*). 536 (*H*). 746 (*P?*)  
C. n. 704 a (*H*). 748 (*P,M?*).
- Caesar 545 (*T*). 706 (*H*). 211  
(*H*). <941 (*s. I*). 1128 (*s. I*).

1231 (s. I). XIV S I, 5308, 13.  
15 (s. I<sup>1</sup>). **240** (s. I) >

Caes. 362 (H). 369 (P). 403  
(C?). 543-544 (H). 717 (M).  
747 (P?). **155** (T). <811 e. f.  
(T). 812 (H) >

Caes. **154** (T). **208** (T). <811 d  
(T). 813 (H) >

Caesar n(oster) A(ug.) 4 (T,H)

Caesar Augustus **1** (A.) (T,H).  
<814 l(ib) (s. I med.). 919  
(s. I<sup>1</sup>) >

Augustus n(oster) 157 (A). 366\*.  
537 a (s. II<sup>2</sup>) 685 (M?)

Aug. nos. 191 (s. II<sup>2</sup>). 757 (M)

Aug. n. 3 (s. II<sup>2</sup>). 46 (C?). 158  
(S). 163 (S). 164 (A). 174  
(A). 175 (C,S). 176 (s. II<sup>2</sup>).  
178 (A). 190 (S). 193-194  
(A). 202 (s. II ex.). 203 (A).  
214 (A). 222 (A?). 237 (A).  
370 (M). 371 (S?). 372 (S?).  
404 (A). 413 (S?). 425 (A).  
426 (S?). 533 (s. II<sup>2</sup>). 537 b  
(s. II<sup>2</sup>). 624-626 (A). 686 (cf.  
**585**) (S?). 749 (s. II ex.). 751-  
752 (s. II ex.). 753 (S). 754  
(M). 755 (s. II<sup>2</sup>). 769 b (A).  
<1531 libert. (s. II) >

Augustus 5 a (H?). \*365 (P?).  
<XIV S I, 5308, 14 (s. I<sup>1</sup>) >

Aug. 5 b (H?). 538 (s. II<sup>2</sup>). 627  
(s. II ex.). 756 (C?). 758 (M).  
1857 (s. II<sup>2</sup>).

<462-470 lib. (H,P). 569 l(ib.)  
(s. II). 777 l(ib.) (s. I). 1149  
l(ib.) (s. I<sup>2</sup>). 2170 l(ib.) (s.  
I). 2324 l(ib.) (s. I med.).  
2399-2400 l(ib.) (s. I med.).  
**537** (v. ind. VI A). **578** l(ib.)  
(H) >

dominus noster 204 (n.; s. II  
ex.). 759. dom. n. 329 (S?)

d. n. 156 (s. II<sup>2</sup>). 188 (S). 189  
(S?). 212 (s. II ex.). 750 (s.  
II). 760 (s. II ex.). 761 (A).  
d. n. imp. 765 (s. II<sup>2</sup>)

dominus noster Augustus 764 (s.  
II ex.)

dominus nt. Aug. 155 (dom.)  
(A). 762 a (A). 763 (S?)

dominus n. Aug. 192 (dom.) (S).  
213 (S). 323 (S). 687 (S?).  
762 b (A)

d. n. Aug. 179 (s. II<sup>2</sup>). 381 (A)

Augusti nn. 766 (SA)

Augg. nn. 44 (SA). 159 (SA). 166  
(SA). 181-183 (SA). 195-196  
(SA). 205 (SA). 215\*-220  
(SA). 238 (SA). 324-325  
(SA). 382-383 (SA). 602  
(SA). 628-629 (SA). 689-690  
(SA). 767 (SA). 769 a (SA).  
**605** (s. IV)

Auggg. nnn. 48 (SAG)

Augusti 367 (MV). 386 (MV)

II (= duo) Aug(usti) 385 (MV)

Augg. et Caes. nn. (*inter a. 293 et*  
*305*) 1564. 1616. 1627. 1628

. . . . Augustiana 1860 a (s. II<sup>2</sup>)

domini nn. 165 (SA). 405 (nos-  
tri; SA). 770 (SA)

dd. nn. 180 (SA). 1640 (s. IV).  
1661 (s. IV)

ddd. nnn. (= *tres domini nostri*)  
1662 (s. IV)

domini nostri Augg. 768 (SA).  
771 (SA?). 772-773 (SA)

dom. nn. Augg. 774 (SA)

dd. nn. Augg. 1617 (s. IV)

predia dominica 675 (s. II<sup>2</sup>)

predia dmn. 191 (*s. II<sup>2</sup>*)  
 praedia dom. 755 (*s. II<sup>2</sup>*)  
 pr. dom. 157-159. 216. 217. 237

## REGES GOTHORVM

## THEODERICVS

d(ominus) n(oster) rex Theo-  
 dericus 1663

d. n. Theodericus 1664-1670  
 (*cf.* 607). 606

## ATHALARICVS

d. n. Atlari(cus) 1671  
 d. n. Athalaricus 1672-1675  
 (*cf.* 608)

## IV

## CONSULES

## ALIAEQUE ANNI DETERMINATIONES

## CONSULES ANNORUM CERTORUM

a. 110  
 Orfito et Priscino cos. 18 ○  
 a. 113  
 L. Publicio (*immo* Publilio) Celso  
 II Clodio Crispo (*immo* Cris-  
 pino) cos. 2157  
*cf.* L. Pupilius Celsu(s) iter(um)  
 cos. 438  
 a. 114  
 Hast(a) Vop(isco) cos. 19 (Has.  
 19 b)  
 a. 115  
 Pedone et Messalla cos. 21 (*cf.* 4)  
 Messal. et Pedon. cos. 20 (Ped.  
 20 b). 22 (Pedone 22 a)  
 a. 116  
 Lamia et Vetere cos. 23. 24  
 a. 117  
 Q. Aquilio Nigro M. Rebulo Apro-  
 niano cos. 25 (Aquilio 25 b;  
 Rebul. Apronio 25 d)  
 a. 121  
 Vero II cos. 344

a. 122  
 Aviola et Pansa cos. 26  
 Aviola cos. 345  
 a. 123  
 Q. A(rticuleio) P(aetino) L. V(e-  
 nuleio) A(proniano) cos. 563 r  
*l.c.*  
 Q. Articulae. Paetin. cos. et Apron.  
 648 a  
 Q. Art[i]c . . . . .  
 . . . . cos. 235  
 Q. Art. Pae. et Apronia. cos. 847  
 Q. Ar. Pae. et Ven. Apro. cos. 848  
 Paetino et Aproniano cos. 80 □.  
 99. 359. 548 d-f ○. 603. 604 b.  
 1480. 578 □  
 Paetino et Apronian. cos. 13. 79.  
 270 b. 319. 487 a. 502 a\*. 704 b.  
 810 a. b. 1157. 1158. 1363. 32.  
 88. 236. 297  
 Paetino et Apronia. cos. 227. 272  
 (Petino). 548\*a ○, c ○. 563 a  
*l. c.* (cos. *om.*). 1134. 1342. 1478.  
 147  
 Paetino et Aproni. cos. 548 b ○.

- 563 g *l.c.* (cos. *om.*). 810 c. 1021.  
**205** □. **353** (Aponi.)  
 Paetino et Apron. cos. 348 a. 563  
 h *l.c.* (cos. *om.*). 832. 1025. 1116  
 b. 1116 c (cos. *om.*). \*127?  
 (Apron. . . .). **365** (cf. 2013)  
 Paetino et Apro. cos. **54** (cf.  
 1775). **407?** (Apro. . . .)  
 Paetino et Apr. cos. 348 c. 806 a  
 Paetino et Aproniano cos. 96. 98.  
 265 (PÆTI/). 271 (PAETI/).  
 465 b (cf. **577**) □. 1364 (Aepro-  
 niano). 1419. **172**. **173**  
 Paetino et Apronian. cos. 71 □.  
 87. 89. 104. 106 a. 121 ○. 317\*.  
 465 a. 503 (= **136**). 604 a. c.  
 2393 (cf. **459**) (Petin.). **139** (cf.  
 2212). **222**  
 Paetino et Apronia. cos. 563 b, c, e,  
 i *l.c.* (cos. *om.*). 691. 1039. 1418.  
**140** (cf. 502 b). **148**. (et *om.*).  
**346**  
 Paetino et Aproni. 563 k *l.c.*  
 Paetino et Apron. cos. 266 a □.  
 270 a. 348 b. 549 a *l.c.* 563 d *l.c.*  
 608 b. 677 b □. 681. 692. 1113.  
**29** □. **33**. **36** (cf. 106 b)  
 Paetino et Apro. cos. 563 f *l.c.*  
 1020  
 Paetino et Apr. cos. 27. 348 d. e  
 Paetio et Apronia. cos. 563 o = q?  
*l.c.*  
 Paetio et Aproni. cos. 482 e *l.c.*  
 Paetio et Apron. cos. 482 a *l.c.*  
 563 n = p? *l.c.* 680 (Peti.). 1116  
 a. 1255 *l.c.* (cos. *om.*)  
 Paetio et Aproan. cos. 608 a  
 Paetio et Apron. . . . 563 n-o *l.c.*  
 Paetio et Apro. cos. 482 b-c *l.c.*  
 Paetio et Apr. cos. 483. **128** *l.c.*  
 Paetio . . . . . **406**  
 Paetio et Apronian. cos. 1208. **137**.  
**408**  
 Paetio et Apronia. cos. 1034  
 Paetio et Aproni. cos. 482 d *l.c.*  
 Paetio et Apron. cos. 88. 103. 107.  
 266 b\*. 549 b-d *l.c.* 606 □. 704 a.  
 2394. **122** (et, cos. *om.*). **141**.  
 \*174 □. **175** □. **326** □  
 Paetio et Apro. cos. 484 a *l.c.* 531.  
 678 a, b (et *om.*). 846. 1033. 1451  
 Paetio et Apr. cos. 482 f *l.c.* 484 b  
*l.c.* 487 b-c *l.c.* 544 (Pont. et Apr.  
 cos.). 553. 559 a *l.c.* 678 c □.  
 1029 a. b. 1041. 1116 d. 1227 a.  
 1227 b *l.c.* (et, cos. *om.*). 1477.  
**176** (cf. 614) □  
 Paetio et Ap. cos. 257  
 Pae. et Apron. cos. 806 b *l.c.* **211**.  
**325** □ *vel l.c.*  
 Pae. et Apr. cos. 1023 (Pae. et  
 Apr. c.). 1029 c. 1384 *l.c.* 1534  
*l.c.* **69** (cf. 286). **296** (cf. 2012)  
 Pe. et Ap. cos. **138**  
 Pae. . . . . Apronia. cos. 90 b (cf.  
**31**)  
 . . . . . [Ap]ronia. cos. 563  
 q *l.c.*  
 . . . . . Apron. cos. 563  
 p *l.c.* 677 c □  
 P[ae. . . et Apr. . cos] 677 d □  
 Paetino cos. 33 □. 648 b  
 Paetio. cos. 373  
 L. Venuleio Apron. Q. Artic. Paet.  
 cos. 478  
 Aproniano et Paetino cos. 1292. **87**  
 Aproniano et Paetino. cos. 1299  
 Apronian. et Paetino cos. 267 (Pe-  
 tino). 453. **135** (Paetino.)  
 Aproni. et Petino cos. 269  
 Apron. et Petino cos. 273  
 Apron. et Paetino. cos. 454 a *l.c.*  
**124** (cf. 486 b)  
 Apron. et Paetio. cos. 28. 454 b *l.c.*



- 479 *l.c.* 677 a □. 791. 956. 1160? *l.c.* 1398. **61. 113. 291**
- Apron. et Pae. cos. 443-450 *l.c.* 786-787 *l.c.* 827 *l.c.* 845 *l.c.* 898 *l.c.* 920 *l.c.* 1131 *l.c.* 1160 *l.c.* 1175 *l.c.* \*1198 *l.c.* \*1338? *l.c.* 1339 *l.c.* 1385 *l.c.* 1416 *l.c.* 1429. 1450 *l.c.* **111** (*cf.* 448) *l.c.* **112** *l.c.* **227** (*cf.* 1880) *l.c.* **292** *l.c.*
- Apro. et Pae. cos. 76. 499 *l.c.* 801 *l.c.* 914 *l.c.* 974 *l.c.* 1165 *l.c.* 1169 *l.c.* 1187 *l.c.* 1196 *l.c.* 1303 *l.c.* \*1338? *l.c.* 1360 *l.c.* 1386 *l.c.* 1391 *l.c.* 1448 *l.c.* 1467 *l.c.* 1529 *l.c.* **354** *l.c.* **591** (*cf.* 1530) *l.c.*
- Apro et . . . . 563 l, m *l.c.*
- Apr. et Paetin. cos. 540 (*cf.* **153**). 800
- Apr. et Paet. cos. 248. 464. 486 a *l.c.* 494 a (c.). 498 *l.c.* 500-501 *l.c.* 530. 543. \*559 b *l.c.* 799 (et *om.*). 802. 805. 806 c *l.c.* 934 *l.c.* 1215. 1414. 1463. 1466. **90** (*cf.* 346). **143** (*cf.* 1812) *l.c.* **151. 322**
- Apr. et Pae. cos. 90 a (*cf.* **30**). 336. 394 (*cf.* **97**) *l.c.* 490-494 (*cf.* **133**) *l.c.* (Apr. et Pae. c.). 560 *l.c.* 607. 893 *l.c.* 932<sup>add.</sup> *l.c.* 1214. 1216. **131-132** *l.c.* (Apr. et Pae. c.). \***179**
- Apr. et . . . . 559 b *l.c.*
- Ap. et Pae. cos. 393. 485 *l.c.* 957. **221** (Ap. et Pa. cos.)
- Apronian. cos.?? 806 d\* □
- Apron. co. **237** (*cf.* 851) □
- . . . [Ap]roni . . . . ?? 1736
- a. 124
- Glabrione et Torquato cos. \*38. **98**
- Glabrion. et Torquato cos. 72 (Torquat.). 395. 829 (Torq.)
- Glabri. et Torqua. cos. 1420
- Glabr. et Torquat. cos. 301 a. 358 (Torquat.)
- Glabr. et Tor. 1257
- Glab. et Torqua. cos. **14** (*cf.* 287)
- Glab. et Torq. cos. 73 □. 249 (*cf.* **55**). 301 b. 349. 392. 1230 *l.c.* **260**
- Glabrion. cos. 705
- a. 125
- Val(erio) Asiat(ico) II et Tit(io) Aquil(ino) cos. 504
- Asiaco II et Aquilin. cos. **100** □
- [As]iatico II et Aquili. [c]os. **99** (*cf.* 396) □
- Asiatico II Aquil. cos. 228
- Asiaco II et Aquil. cos. **101** □
- Asiatic. II et Aquili. cos. 360. 1209 c (Aquil.)
- Asiat. II et Aquil. cos. 458 *l.c.* 1209 a. b. **320**
- Asiat. II et Aqu. cos. 350. 505 *l.c.* (Aq.)
- Asia. II et Aquil. cos. **180**
- As. II et Aq. cos. 935
- Valer. Asiat. II cos. 1114
- Asiatico II cos. 1452 □ (Asiat.). **375** (*cf.* 2034)
- a. 126
- Annio Vero III et Ambi(bulo) cos. 554 ○
- Annio Vero et Egg(io) Ambib. cos. **39** (*cf.* 109)
- Ann. Ver. III et Egg. Amb. cos. 506 a. 506 b *l.c.* (et *om.*)
- Vero III et Eggio cos. 108
- Vero III et Ambibul. cos. 105 a-b (Anbibul.). 105 c (Anbiblo). 936. 1228 a (Ambibo.). 1228 c *l.c.* (Ambib.). **177** (*cf.* 234) □. **371** (Anbibul.)
- Vero III et Amb. cos. 1343. **15** (*cf.* 39) □. **181. 207** (*cf.* 1256) *l.c.* (et *om.*)



- Vero III cos. 277  
 Propinquo (*suff.*) et Amb. cos. 127 O  
 Prop. (*suff.*) et Ambib. cos. 375 (Ambi.). 1228 b  
 a. 127  
 T. Atil(io) Titia(no) M. Squi(la) Cal(licano) cos. 1430 *l.c.*  
 T. Atil. Tit. M. Squil. Gal. cos. 1431 *l.c.* 1432 *l.c.* (Ga.)  
 Titiano [et] Gallica. cos. 276  
 Titian. et Gallican. cos. 129 (Tit. et Gall. cos.). 182 (*cf.* 1842). 183  
 Titian. et Squil. cos. 77 (Tit. et Squill. cos.). 1210  
 Squilla et Titiano cos. 40 □. 1045 (Titian.). 16 □  
 a. 128  
 Torquato Aspren. II et Libon. cos. 1433. Torq. II et Libon. cos. 1434  
 Asprenate II et Libo. cos. 830  
*suff.* (*secundo nundino*) Mettuo Rufo et Pomp(onio) Mater(no) cos. 69 □  
 Rufo et Materno cos. 939. 1409  
 a. 129  
 Marcell(o) et Celso II cos. 507 a. 507 b *l.c.* (Cels. II)  
 Iuventio II et Marcello II cos. 1435  
 P. Iuve(ntio) II (cos.) 1046  
 a. 130  
 Q. Fab(io) Cat(ullino) M. Flavio Apr(o) cos. 1436  
 Apro et Catulli. cos. 1212 (Catul.). 17  
 a. 131  
 Pontian(o) et Rufino cos. 1437  
 Pont. et Rufin. cos. 15-17 *l.c.*  
 a. 132  
 Augurino et Ser(giano) cos. 1213 [Augurin.] et Serg. cos. 510 *l.c.*  
 Aug. et Ser. cos. 144  
 a. 133  
 Hiberno et Sise(nna) cos. 1438  
 Hib. et Sisen. cos. 471. 508 *l.c.* 1042. 580 (*cf.* 509) (Sisin.)  
 a. 134  
 Serviano III et Varo cos. 92 (*cf.* 569) □ (Servian.). 94 (Var.). 95. 207. 288. 289. 335. 455. \*489 (*cf.* 130) □. 512 □ (cos. *om.*). 513. 516 (et *om.*). 674. 706. 849. 852. 1030. 1043. 1301. 1365. 1366. 1427. 2028. 129 (*cf.* 488). \*145 (*cf.* 2029) (Var.)  
 Ser. III et Varo cos. 536 (*cf.* 581)  
 Serviano III cos. \*511 *l.c.* 515 a *l.c.* 515 b. 562 *l.c.* 942. 1073. 1174 a *l.c.* 1174 b. 1263. 1300. 332 (*cf.* 2009)  
 Serv. III cos. 250 *l.c.*  
 Iul(io?) Ser(viano?) III cos.? 1453-1455 □. 18 □  
 a. 135  
 Pontiano et Atiliano cos. 246. 280 [P]ontiano e. . . . 278\* (*errore, immo* 617)  
 Pont. et Atilian. cos. 1053 (Atilia.) 1054  
 Pont. et Atil. cos. 245 (Acil.). 251. 341 (*cf.* 89). 461. 1229 a *l.c.* 1229 b  
 a. 136  
 Ceionio et Civica cos. 1056 (*cf.* 279)  
 Comodo et Pompeiano cos. 1058  
 a. 137  
 L. Ael(io) Caes(are) II P. Coel(io) Balbin(o) cos. 1057  
 L. Aelio Caesare II et Balbi. cos. 1059

L. Aelio Caes. II et Bal. cos. 900  
L. Aelio Caesa. II cos. 1218

a. 138

Nigro et Camerino cos. 567. 1060  
Nigro et Camerin. cos. 172 (Camer.). 732. 1456  
Nig. et Cam. cos. 118  
Kano et Camerin. cos. 707

a. 139

T. Ael(io) Caes(are) II C. Brit-(tio) Pr(aesente) cos. 1061  
Imp. Caes. Ant(onino) C. Br. P. 1219. 323 (C. B. P.)  
Imp. Antonino II et Balbin. cos. 1440 b. *Alterius consulis nomen BALBIN. correctum est in BRT-TIO: 1440 a*  
Imp. T. Antonino [Aug. Pi]o II cos. 379

a. 140

Antonino Aug. III et Vero cos. 229  
a. 184 (cf. 229 b) add.  
Imp. Antonin. et Vero cos. 1062. 1159 (cos. om.?)

a. 141

Severo et Stloga cos. 850\*. 860. 1220. 1421 (Stlo.)

a. 142

L. St(atio) Quadr(ato) et C. C(uspio) Ruf(ino) cos. 1065  
Lucio Quadrato cos. 861

a. 144

Maxim(o) et Avit(o) cos. 9

a. 145

Ant(onino) IIII et Vero II cos. 1071 (Ver. 1071 b)

a. 146

Cla(ro) et Sev(ero) cos. 959

a. 147

L. Annio Largo C. Prast(ina) Pacat(o) cos. 960

a. 148

Torq(uato) et Iul(iano) cos. 369  
Sal(vio) et Torq. cos. 733

a. 150

Gallicano et Vetere cos. 1221  
Gallica. et Veter. cos. 735 (Gallic.). 863  
Vetere et Gal. cos. 466 (Veter. 466 b)

a. 151

Condiani et Maximi (sic) cos. 1144  
Max. et Con. cos. 467

a. 152

Glab(rione) et Homul(lo) cos. 468 a. b (Homulo 468 c)

a. 153

Praes(ente) et Rufin(o) cos. 215  
Brittio cos. 2322 (cf. PIR II 397 n. 1637)

a. 154

Commodo et Late(rano) cos. 618  
Commod. et Laterano cos. 1072. 1086 (Lateran.). 1087\* (Lateran.)

Commo. et Lateran. 619\*  
L. Aurelio Commod(o) (si nomen recte ad notam consularem refertur) 738

a. 155

Severo et Sab(iniano) cos. 1090

a. 156

\*Silvan. et. . . . . \*1031\*

a. 157

Barbar(o) et Regul(o) cos. 209

a. 158

Sacerd(ote) cos. 2377

a. 159

Quintillo et Prisco cos. 1368

a. 161

Anto(nino) III et Vero II cos. 1204

*Post d. 7 m. Mart.*: Augustis n(os-  
tris) cos. 353

circ. a. 134?  
Iuliano et Casto cos. 146

a. 162  
Rust(ico) II et Aqu(lino) cos.  
386

circ. a. 139??  
Tra . . . . . cos. \*381  
. . . . . cos. \*380

a. 164  
M. Pompeio Macri(no) P. Iuven-  
t(io) Cels(o) cos. 1369

a. 203 (—205)  
C. Ful(vius) Plaut(ianus) pr(ae-  
fectus) pr(aetorio) c(larissimus)  
v(ir) cos. II *v. ind. I*

CONSULES ANNORUM INCERTORUM

inter a. 129 et 132?  
Severo et Arrián(o) cos. 244 □.  
552

INDICTIONES

a. 526/7  $\overline{\text{id.}}$  V 1674. 1675  
a. ?  $\overline{\text{ind.}}$  . . 1667

V

FIGLINAE, PRAEDIA, FUNDI, OFFICINAE, PORTUS

fig. Acilianae 2224  
pr. Acili. (*vel nomen?*) \*2225  
pr. Aiacciana 9 (Aiacia.). 10  
Aiacia(num opus) *vel* Aiacia-  
(ni) 393

figlin. Albanian(ae) 3 (*cf.* 1871)  
figlinae Antull(ianae) 568  
figlinae ab Appollini (*sic*) 2156  
(*cf.* 409)

figlinae Arestianae 11. 12 (fig.  
Arist.)

fig. Astivianae 13  
praedia Astiviana 14

fig. Avitian(ae) 15-\*17

of. Bo., Boc., Bosoni. *v.* off. Buco-  
niana

of. Brit. 1561. 1562

fund(us) Brutinus 16

Brutiana 23. 29 a-d. 31. 42.  
1735. 9 = (*M. Rutili Lupi no-  
mine eraso*) 32

ficlinae Brutian. 14 (*cf.* 287)  
Brutian. 18. 19. Brutia. 30.  
5-7

Brut. 18-21 (*cf.* 4). 26. 27. 29  
e-f. 33-36 (*cf.* 12). 40. 43. 11  
(*cf.* 37). 13. 20

fund. Bru. 15 (*cf.* 39). Bru.  
25. 38. 41

f. Br. 17. t(egula?) Br. 28. Br.  
28. 29 g-h

of. Brit. (*v. supra*) 1561. 1562

fig. Bucconian(ae) 44. fig. Buc-  
conia. 47. 21. figl. Bucc. 48

officina Buconiana 1556. of. Bu-  
coni. 1557. off. Bucon. 1558.

off. Buco. 1559. off. Buc. 1553.  
1554 (of.). 1560. of. Boc. 1548

a. 1549. 1550. of. Bo. 1548 b.  
1551. 1552

opic. Boson(iana) (*sic*) 1555

- C. v. fig. Caepionianae, Caninianae  
 figlinae Caelianae 49. **22**  
   Cae. 50  
 fig. Caepionianae 85 (figli.). 86.  
 praed. Caepioniana 96. Caepioniana 52. 58. 59 a. 72. 80. 92 (cf. **569**). 99. **24** (cf. 64 b).  
 Caepionana 79.  
 Caepionian. 98. 105 (Caepionan.).  
 Caepioni. \*1742.  
 Cepional. 56. 67. Caepiona. 59 b. c. 63 a-b (Cepiona.).  
 f. Caepion. 64 a. Caepion. 65. 104 (Cepion.). 1736. **28**.  
 Caupion. 83.  
 Caepio. \*54. 74. 94. 103. Cepio. 63 c. 68 a. 69.  
 f. Caep. 82. Caep. 53. 55. 68 b-d. 73. 77. 84. 95. 97. **26. 29. \*35** (cf. 2069). **39** (cf. 109).  
 Cep. 70. 71. **32**.  
 Cae. 76. 78. 100. **25**  
 C. ab Euripo 106 a. **36** (cf. 106 b) (Eurip.). **37**; v. fig. ab Euripo  
 figlinae Camillianae 115  
   Camilla(num) 112. 113 (Camilli. 113 b)  
 figlinae Caninianae 130. 134 (fig. Raninianae). 136 (f.). 138. **42**.  
 pr. Caniniana 137.  
 figlinae Caninian. 116. fic. Caninia. 133. figl. Kanini. 139.  
 figl. Carin. 117.  
 f. Can. 129. 132. 135. **41** (fig.). **43**. figl. Kan. 131.  
 f. C. 118. K. 121  
 f. Castricia(nae) 141  
 praedia centurion(ica) 142  
 fig. Cerm. 245. fig. Germ. min. 247  
 Claudiana 1563 a-c. f-h. Ciaudiana 1563 d. Cludiana 1563 e  
 off. Cr. 1564  
 a creta 143  
 fundus Crispiniani 1684  
 fig. Curtianae 147. fig. Curt. 146.  
   fig. Cur. 144  
 praedia dominica v. ind. *III* (*supra*, p. 81)  
 fig. Domitianae 156. **44** (cf. 154).  
 for(nace?) Domitianaru(m)  
 fig(linarum) 157. (opus) fig(linum) Domitianarum fig(linarum) 158. figulinae Domitia. 155. fig. Domiti. 160 (cf. **45**). fig. Domit. 159. fig. Dom. 148 (f.). 151. 173  
 officina Domitiana 1582 (of.). 1583 (cf. **599**). of. Domitia. 1570 a. 1571. **597**. of. Domiti. 1570 b. c. officina Domit. **600**.  
 off. Domit. 1577 (of.). 1585 (Domitt.). 1588. of. Domi. 1581. ofic. Dom. 1576. off. Dom. 1569. 1572. 1573. 1574 a 1575. 1586. 1587. of. Dom. 1565. 1566 a. 1567. 1568. 1570 d. 1574 b. 1578-1580. 1584. of. Do. 1566 b  
 of. Domit. M. 186  
 figlinae Domitianae maiores 163 (fl.). 164. 166 (fig.). 168. 170 (figl.). figlin. Domit. maior. 161 (fig.). 167. 169 a (f.). fig. Dom. maio. 165. 169 b (maior.). **46**. f. Domt. mai. 162  
 figlinae Domitianae minores 176. 178 (figl.). 179. 180 (fig.).  
 fig. Domit. minores 171. 181 (min.). 183 (min. 183 a). figl. Dom. minor. 175. fig. Dom. min. 174. 182 (f.). **47**  
 figil. Domit. veteres 187 (cf. fig. Veteres)

fig. ab Eurip(o) 110. pr. ab Eurip(o) 107. 108 (*cf.* C(aepion.) ab Euripo)

of. F. 1589-1593. **601. 602?**

f. F. v. fig. Furianae

fig. Fabian. 207 (Fab.). 208 (*cf.* **50**) ofic. Favi. 209

of. Fab. 1594-1599 (off. 1596 a. 1598. officina 1599)

figl. Faun(ianae) 211

fig. Favorian(ae) 217. fig. Faorian. 216. 219 (*cf.* **51**). 220. figl. Favor. 218. fig. Faor. 214. 215\*. **52. FLG EAORAOR (sic)** 222. fig. Faurianae 212. 213 (figlin.). **53.** pre. Fav. *vel.* Fau. 221

figlinae Marcian(ae) SIVP (*immo* sive) Faurianae 329

of. Fauriana 1601. of. Fau. 1600

Felice v. ad Mercurium Felicem

fig. Fulvianae 223 a. 224. fig. Fulvia. 223 b. fig. Ful. 225

fig. Fulvian. por(tu) Licini 226

fig. Furianae 229 a. 230. 231 (f.). 232 (figl.). figul. Furi. 235.

f. Fur. 227. 228. f. F. 233

fig. Tem. et F[ur.] **186**

fundus Furianus Preciliorum 236

of. Furi(ana) 1605. of. Fur. 1602-1604

f. G. 244 (*cf.* fig. Genianae)

of. Gemella 1606. off. Gemel. 1607

figlinae Genianae 237. 238 (fig.).

fig. Genianianae (*sic*) 243

figl. Genian. 240. 241 (*cf.* **571**)

(fig.). fig. Gen. 242<sup>add.</sup> (f.). **54.**

f. G. 244 (*si huc pertinet*)

fig. Germ. min(ores) 247. fig. Cerm. 245

fig. Intellianae de por(tu) Cor. ? 2393 (*cf.* **459**)

of. Iobia 1608-1610. of. Iovia 1611. 1612 (off.). officina Iovian(a) *vel* Ioviani? 1696

ab Isis 252. Isiaca 249 (*cf.* **55**).

251. 254. Isiac. 248. 253. Is. **58**

figulinae Ivilinianae 256

figlin. Iuncianae 257

pr. Iuncin(a?) 1224

K., Kan., Kanini. v. fig. Caninianae

fig. a Lament. (?) 2157

fi. Latanianae v. fig. Platanianae

de Licini(anis) 274. de Licin. 270 a.

de Lic. 194. 196. 265. 270 b.

271. 272. 277. praed. Lic. 279.

d. L. 258. 260. 262. 263. 267.

269. 273. 278: 1345??

ficlinae Lusianae 280

pra. M. 316 (*cf.* fig. Marcianae)

off. M. 1616 (*cf.* off. Marciana)

figlinae Macedonianae 281 (*cf.* **62**)

(fig.). 283 (f.). 285. **67** (*cf.*

1778). prae. Macedonian. **70**

(*cf.* 291). figlinae Macedonia.

297 a (ficlin.). **71.** op(us) Ma-

cedonia. 292. fig. Macedon.

288. **66** (f.). opus Macedon.

298. figl. Macedo. **572** (*cf.*

294). f. Maced. . . . 282. figl.

Maced. 284. 290 (phig.). 293

(fig.). **65** (*cf.* 2074). **69** (*cf.*

286) (fic.). pr. Mace. 295. 296.

o(pus) Mace. 289. f. Mac. **68**

*abl.* figlin. Macedonis 297 b

pr. Mamm. 301 (Mam. 301 b)

figlinae Marcianae 306 a. 307. 310.

312 (figli.). 315. 318 (fig.).

323. 328 (fig.). **77** (*cf.* 306 c).

**\*85** (f.). **\*616** (add.).

Marciana 302. **78** (*cf.* 309).

**573.** officinae Marci. . . **574.**



- figlinae Marcian. 324-326  
(figl.). 329 (figlinae Marcian.  
SIVP (*immo* sive) Fauria-  
nae). 81<sup>add.</sup> 82 (fig.). figlinae  
Mar. . . . 304  
Marcian. 308 (= 549).  
figlinae Marcia. 303. 306 b  
(fig.). fig. Mari. (*sic*) 327.  
figli. Marc. 313. 314. 322 (f.).  
1787 + 2469 (figlin.). pra. M.  
316  
of. Marciana 1617 (off.). 1618.  
1619. off. Marci. 1615. of. Mar.  
1613. 1614. off. M. 1616  
fig. Med. 330. Med. 331  
ad Mercur(ium) Felic(em) 332.  
ad Mercuri. Felice. 333  
(Merc. . . . .). 334. Felice.  
86  
fig. Mucia(nae) 335  
fig. Mulionis 338. d(e) (figlinis)  
Mulionis 340. de Mul. 339  
o(pus) d(oliare) Munatia(num)  
125  
figl. Myrinianae 87. 88 (fig.)  
fig. Myrin. 342. figl. Myr. 341  
(*cf.* 89)
- f. N. v. fig. Novae  
Naeviana 343. Naevi. 90 (*cf.* 346).  
Naev. 344. 345  
de Narn. 352. t(egula) Narn(iensis)  
349. 350. de Nar. 347. 351. 91.  
Nar. 348  
pr(aedia) Narnensium a Venere  
353  
fig. Negarianae 354  
ab Nept(uno) 355. 92. ab Nep. 93  
offic(ina) Neronian(a) 356  
pr(aedia?) Non(iana?) 1453-1455.  
18  
fig. Novae 201 (Noae). 204 (figl.).  
205. 206 (figlin.). figlinae Nov.  
200. 202-203 (figl.). f. N. 49  
off. Noba 1621. of. No. 1620
- fig. Oceanae 365 (fi.). 366\*. 367.  
figlin. Ocean. 357 (= 526).  
363 (f.). fic. Ocea. 368. figlinae  
Oce. . . 536. f. Oc. 358  
fig. Ocianae 387. 388 (f.)  
fig. Ocean. m. 385. fig. Ocaea. m.  
386. fi. Oce. m. 384 (*cf.* 96).  
fig. Og. m. (= minores) 373  
figulinae Oceanae maiores 371  
(fig.). 372. fig. Oce. ma. 370  
figulinae Oceanae minores 381.  
fig. Ocean. min. 383. fig. Ocea.  
min. 374. 382 (mi.). fig. Oc.  
min. 380. fig. Og. m. 373  
off. Ocen. 1622. *cf.* 1650  
fig. Ocianae v. fig. Oceanae  
de Ocric. . . . 389 b. de Ocr. 389 a
- f(iglinae) pag(i) Stel(latini) 390  
Petroniana 391  
ab pila alta 111 (= A. P. A.? 100)  
a pil(a) Her(culis?) 1230. pila Her.  
1228 (pil. 1228 c). Hercl. pil.  
328. Her. p. 1229. Herc. 326.  
Her. 1227 a. H. 1227 b  
ficlin. Platanianae 99 (*cf.* 396). 100  
(fic.). fi. Latanianae (*sic*) 101.  
f. Platania. 392. Platan. 397  
fig. Ponticulanae 400 (fi.). 405.  
figl. Ponticlianae 403.  
figlin. Ponticlianae 404. 407  
(figl.). figlin. Ponticl. 398 a.  
fici. Ponti. 401. fig. Pont. 398  
b. 399. 406 (figl.). figl. Pot.  
413 (*si huc pertinet*)  
fig. Pontices(es) (*sic*) 102  
de por(tu) Cor(nelii?) ? 459 (*cf.*  
2393)  
por(tu) Licini 226. port. Lic. 139.  
408. 630



- portus Parrae 410. 411 (*cf.* 103).  
 de porto (*sic*) Parrae 409  
 figl. Pot. 413 (*cf.* fig. Ponticul.)  
 fig. Propetianae 418. figu. Propet.  
 415. 105 (fig.)  
 fig. Publilianae 421 (figlinae). 424  
 (figul.). 425. 426. 427-428  
 (figl.). 434. 435 (figl.). 436. *cf.*  
 \*1803. fig. Publil. 422.  
 figlinae Publlianae (*sic*) 107  
 (*cf.* 420). fig. Publīanae 423  
 (*cf.* 108)  
 figul. Publinianae 429  
 figl. Publ. 431. 432 (f.). fig.  
 Pub. 430  
 figlinae Publilia[nae] Tonneia-  
 n[ae?] 436  
 of. Pub. 1623. of. Pul. 1624\*-  
 1626
- Q. 438; v. Quintianae  
 off. Q. 1627  
 Quin. 437 c; v. Quintianae  
 Quint. 437 a. b. 109; v. *infra*  
 predia Quintanesia *vel* Quintanensia  
 462. Quintan. 461. 113. 116. pr.  
 Quint. 463. Quint. 453. 454.  
 456. 118. Q. 443-452. 111 (*cf.*  
 448). 112. 114. 115. 117 (*cf.*  
 460)  
 off. Q. 1627 (*si huc pertinet*)  
 Quintianae 439-442 (Quin. 441 b).  
 110. Quint. 437 (Quin. 437 c).  
 109. Quin. 437 c. 441 b. Q. 438
- fig. Raninianae v. fig. Caninianae  
 fig. Rhodin(ianae) 471  
 fig. Rod. 472. 474. 119 (Rhod.)
- S. v. Salarese, Sulpicianum  
 (opus) Sabinu(m) 531. pr. Sabin.  
 530. bip(edale) Sabin. 532. p.  
 Sab. R. 151
- figulinae Saenianae 475. figlinae Se-  
 nianae 476 (*cf.* 579).  
 officina Seniana Mem(miana?)  
 477  
 de Sal. v. de via Salaria  
 Salaresae (*sic*) 134 (*cf.* 497). Sala-  
 rese 521. 524. 150. prae. Sala-  
 re. . . 148. Salare. 522. 129  
 (*cf.* 488). Salar. 478. 479. 500.  
 501. 516 (o(pus) Salar.). 517.  
 124 (*cf.* 486 b). 143 (*cf.* 1812).  
 144. opu(s) Sala. 512.  
 Sal. 480-486 a. 487. 495. 496.  
 498. 499. 504. 506-508 a. 510.  
 \*511. 513-515. 518 a (t. Sal.).  
 520. 523. 525. 526 (fig. Sal.).  
 528. 529. 530. 1810. 120-123.  
 125 (*cf.* 954). 127. 128. 135.  
 142. \*145 (*cf.* 2029). 149. 580  
 (*cf.* 509). Sa. 508 b.  
 S. 490-494. 493 (*cf.* 133). 519?  
 131. 132
- fig. Scaur(ianae) 2158 (*cf.* 410)  
 figl. Sef. 533 (fig. 533 b)  
 figl. Sem. 411 (*cf.* 2159)  
 figlinae Septimianae 538. Septimian.  
 fig. 536 a. Septimia. 534. fig.  
 Sept. 537 (Sep. 537 b).  
 Senptimian. fig. 536 b-c  
 f. Sext. 539  
 fundus Siliani 142  
 pred(ia) Staton(iensia) 541  
 figilin. Strabo(nianae) 2508. [fig]il.  
 Strab. 83
- figlinae Subortanae 545. Suburtan.  
 546. p(raedia) Sub.orta. 542.  
 opus Suburta. 547. fig. Subort.  
 544. pr. Subhor. 543. 155  
 (Subor.)  
 d(ol.) Successa(num) 188. dol.  
 Succ. 615; v. Tempesin. Succ.  
 figlinae Sulpicianae 575. Sulpiciana  
 166 (*cf.* 600 a). 167. 168. Sul-

- picianu(m) 550. 596 (Sulpiciani 596 b. c). **160** (Sulpicianu.). Sulpician. 594. op. Sulpicia. 568. 570 (op. *om.*). [te]cl(a) Supicia. . . 587. praedia Sulpigiens(ia) 588. Sulpices(e) (*sc.* opus) 561. Sulpic. 548 a. b. d. e. 562. 600 b. c. Sulpi. 574. Sulp. 548 c. f. 549. 563 a-f. 566 a. 569. 573. 576. 577 a. \*580 c. 583 a. 584? 585 a. 589. 590. 591. 598. 599 a. 600 d. **161**. \***162**. Sul. 551. 559. 563 g-k. n. o. 564 (t. Sul.). 565. 566 b. 567. 571. 572. 577 b. 578. 580 a. b. 581. 582. 583 b. 585 b-c. 586. 592. 593. 595. 597. 599 b. c. 955? 1834. **159**. **164**. **165** (*cf.* 1841). Su. 563 r. S. 560. 893 (*si huc pertinet*)  
fig. Superior(es) 602. fig. Sup. 601
- T. v. fig. Tempesinae  
off. T. Q. 1628  
of. Teb. (*errore scriptum pro Ter.*) 1629  
fig. Tempesinae 603. 604. 606. 608. **174**. **184** (*cf.* 229 b)<sup>add.</sup> (fig. Tempesiana). **185**. Tempesina 609 a 611. **182**. **183**. Tempesin. 612. Tempe. 610 f. Temp. 607. **172**. **173**. **176** (*cf.* 614). **179**. **181**. teg. Temp. **177** (*cf.* 234). Temp. 609 b. c. 613 a. **582** (*cf.* 613 b). fig. Tem. et F[ur.] **186**. d(e) T(empesinis) 605  
Tempesin(um) Succ(essanum) 612. Temp. Succ. 613 a. **582** (*cf.* 613 b)  
oficina de Tempesini(s?) 1640  
of. Te[mpesi]ni 1641. off. Temp. 1634. 1636. 1639 (of. 1639 c). of. Tem. 1630-1633. 1635 (off.). 1637. 1638  
figulinae Terentian(ae) 617. 621 (figl.). 629 (fig.). fig. Terentia. 624. fig. Terent. 616 (f.). 620 (figl.). 625. 626. 628. f. Ternt. 630. figl. Teren. 623. fig. Ter. **190** (*cf.* 1947)  
ofs. (*sic*) Terent. 1646. of. Ter. 1629 (Teb.). 1642-1645. 1647. 1648 (off.)  
figlinae Tonneiana 635 (figl. 635 b). 653. teg(ula) doli(aris) Toneiana 646. tegula Tonneiana 631 (Tunneiana). **196**. Tonneiana 436? 633 (Toneiana 633 c). 634. 641. 656. 657. 662 a. **198**. opus Tonneianu(m) 654. Tonneian. Vic. 660 (*cf.* **583**). figl. Tonnei. 661 a. Tonnei. 632. 658. 659 (Tonnaei. 659 d). 662 b. **109** (Tonei.). figil. Tunne. 644. fig. Tonn. 652. **191**. Tunn. **192** (*cf.* 640). figl. Tun. 642. teg. Ton. 637. 645. teg. Tun. dol. 647. **194**. [te]g. dol. Tun. **195**. figl. To. 661 b  
ex figlinis Publilia[nis] Tonneian[a?] 436  
Tonei(ana) de Quint(ianis) **109**  
opus Tonneianu(m) ex Vesia(nis) 654  
tegula Tonneiana ex Viccianis figlinis **196**. Tonneiana de figlinis Viccianis \*656 (ex). 657 (figlin. 657 b. c.). **198**. Tonnei. (Tonnaei. 659 d) de figlinis Viccianis 658 (ficilinis Viccanis 658 a. b). 659  
fig. Tonnei. Viccianae 1847. Tonneian. Vic. 660 (*cf.* **583**)

- Vicciana Tonneiana 662 ([Ton]-  
nei. 662 b)  
fig. Tur. 674  
ficlina V. 2195; v. fig. Viccianae?  
figl. Varianae 675  
a Venere v. pr. Narnensium a Ve-  
nere  
opus Vesianu[m] 655. opus Ton-  
neianu(m) ex Vesia(nis) 654  
figlinae Veteres 188. 190 (figulinae).  
**48** (cf. 198) (figil.). fig. Veter.  
189 (cf. **570**). 191 (figl.). 197.  
fig. Vet. 192. 193-196 (figl.).  
199  
figl. Vet. de Lic. 194. 196; cf.  
*praeterea* figil. Domit. veteres  
figlinae Viccianae 656-659 (ficlinae  
Viccanae 658 a-b, figl. 659 d).  
665 (figl. 665 a-b). **198. 202**  
(cf. 1846). **203** (cf. 672)  
(figl.). Viccianae figlinae **196**.  
nota Viccina **617** (add.). Vic-  
ciana 661-664 (Viciana 663).  
666 (Viccian.). 667. 670 (Vi-  
ciana 670 c). 671. 673. **197.**  
**204** (Viccian.). fig. Vic. **200**.  
Vic. 660 (cf. **583**). tegla V. **199**.  
ficlina V. 2195 (*si huc perti-*  
*net*). Viccies(e) 669  
nota Viccina **617** (add.)  
Vicciana d(e) figl. Tonnei. 661  
(To. 661 b)  
Vicciana Tonneiana 662 ([Ton]-  
nei. 662 b)  
fig. Tonnei. Viccianae 1847. Ton-  
neian(a) Vic(ciana) 660 (cf.  
**583**)  
offic(in)a quae est via Aurel(ia)  
676  
Via Nomentana 681. fig. via Nom.  
677. 680. **\*205**. fig. viae Nom.  
678. d(e) v(ia?) Nom. 682  
de via Salaria 683. de Sal. **206**<sup>add.</sup>  
via Triu(mphali) **207** (cf. 1256).  
via Tri. 684  
figulinae Voconianae 688. figl.  
Voconianae 687. fig. Voconian.  
689. 690 (figl.). fig. Voconia-  
(nae) a Pel(leciano pago?) **585**  
(cf. 686). fig. Voc. 685

## VI

### NOTABILIA VARIA

#### A. RES PUBLICA POPULI ROMANI

- a. MUNERA ET DIGNITATES  
c(larissimus) p(uer) 434  
clarissimus vir 527. c. v. 47. 160.  
184. 185. 197. **\*206. 240. 241** (cf.  
**571**). 406. 416. 475. 526. 1688.  
1700. 1713. **21. 46. 47. 190** (cf.  
1947). v. c. 1705. 1711  
heredes cc. vv. (= clarissimorum  
virorum) 419  
c(larissima) f(emina) 419. 427.  
428. 432. 1310. 1705  
Aug. disp(ensatoris) arcarius **537**  
disp(ensator?) 541  
iter(um) cos. **438**. cos. II 47. 160.  
184. 185. 197. **\*206. 240. 241** (cf.  
**571**). 406. **21. 46. 47. 190** (cf.  
1947)  
eq(ues) R(omanus) 526

limenarc(ha) ? 1544 (*si huc pertinent*); cf. 1542-1543 *et ind. VI A b et H f*

mag(ister) **614. 615** (cf. 1710)

pr(aefectus) pr(aetorio) 47. 160.  
184. 185. 197. \*206. 240. 241.  
406. 1136. **21. 46. 47. 190** (cf.  
1947). **290**

pr(ocurator) Aug. 705

[s]cr(iba) lib(rarius)? 1507

v(ir) s(pectabilis)? 1696

#### b. RATIONES ET RES DOMESTICA IMPERATORIS

limenarc(ha) ? 1544

provisio limena(ria)? 1542

provisio limeniana ? 1543

off. pribata 1545

privata 1546

ratio patrimonii 1

*Sigla enuntiantia administrationem  
officinarum aetatis Diocletianae  
(de quorum interpretatione cf.  
CIL XV 1, pp. 386-389):*

R. S. P. [= r(ei) s(ummae) p(riva-  
tae)] 1548-1551. 1565-1568.  
1594. 1595. 1620. 1624\*. 1642-  
1644

S I [= statio prima] 1548. 1565.  
1594. 1602. 1620. 1623. 1625.  
1630

S II 1549. 1561. 1566. 1595. 1603.  
1624\*. 1626. 1631. 1642

S III \*1562? 1567. 1604. 1632.  
1643

S IIII 1568. 1644

S VII 1550

S VIII \*1551

of. s(ummae) 1578-1581. 1609.  
1610. off. s. ? 1607

S. 1606. 1621 (*si huc pertinent*)

ofici. p. s. [= p(rivatae) s(ummae)]  
1598. off. s. p. 1553. 1646. of.  
s. p. 1552. 1574. 1596. 1629. 1635

P. S. 1577. S. P. 1554. 1555. 1575.  
1576. 1597. 1605. 1636. 1647. **602**

S. P. C. [= s(ummae) p(rivatae)  
C(aesarum?)] 1561. \*1562.  
1602-1604. 1623. 1625. 1626.  
1630-1632

off. s(ummae) r(ei) 1572. 1649.  
of. s. r. 1570. 1571. 1608. **597**

S. R. [= s(ummae) r(ei)] 1564.  
1573. 1593. 1616. 1627. 1628.  
1645. 1651?

S. R. D. P. [= s(ummae) r(ei)  
d(omus) p(rivatae)] 1589-1592.  
**601.**

S. R. Fis. [= s(ummae) r(ei) fis-  
(ci)] 1613. \*1614. 1633

off. s. r. f. [= s(ummae) r(ei)  
f(isci)] 1569. 1615. 1622. 1634.  
1649. 1650. 2138

#### B. RES MILITARIS

leg(io) II P[arthica] 8

praedia centurion(ica) 142

trib(unus) coh(ortis) I pr(aeto-  
riae) 1380

#### C. RES SACRA

figlinae ab Appollini v. ind. V  
Fortuna colenda 1539

F. P. = F(ortunae) P(rimigeniae) ?  
2359

ab Isis, Isiaca *v. ind. V*  
 ad Mercurium Felice(m) *v. ind. V*  
 ab Neptuno *v. ind. V*  
 a pila Her(culis?) *v. ind. V*  
 A Venere *v. ind. V*

sacra Lanvio 445  
 vir(go?) Ves(talis?) 1487  
 Solis et Lunae sacerd(os) 2160

*Christiana:*

ΘEOC BOHΘOC 1728  
 in nomine dei 1726  
 X.M.Γ. [= X(ριστός) M(ιχαήλ)  
 Γ(αβριήλ)] 2415 (*cf.* 466)  
*Christian Monogram* (XP) 1563.  
 1667. 1695. 1729. 1730. 2415 (*cf.*  
 466)  
 bona vita 1725  
 vivas 1727

## D. CIVITAS ROMANA

rei pub(licae) 1547

*Tribus:*

Aim(ilia) 373 (*cf.* 1413)

Clu(stumina) 1188  
 Crust. 2185 (*nisi potius cognomen  
 est*)  
 Col(lina) 1474

## E. GEOGRAPHICA

Ostia 2164  
 Portus Augusti 5  
 Port(us) Trai(ani) 6  
 urbs Roma 1540  
 bono Romae 1667. 1674. bono  
 Rome 1541. 1664-1666 (*cf.* 607).

606. bon. R. 1673 (*cf.* 608)  
 felix Roma 1668-1670. 1675  
*Cf. praeterea ind. V, passim*  
*Aedificium urbis Romae:*  
 castra praetori(a) Aug(usti) n(ös-  
 tri) 3

## F. RES MUNICIPALIS

res pub(lica) Tusculanor(um) 7  
 ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) 2  
*Magistratus Praenestini:*  
 aed(ilis) 2299. 2300  
 cur(ator) aed(ium) sacr(arum)  
 2297. \*2298

du[ovir(i)] 2293  
 II vir 2292. \*2298  
 II vir(i) \*2291. 2294-\*2296  
 II vir iter(um) 2297. \*2298  
 q(uaestor) 2301-2303. 452. 453

## G. VERBA AD REM FIGLINAM PERTINENTIA

act(or) 1049  
 agit 517  
 B. S. = b(essale) S(alarese)? 519  
 bipeda(le) 1684  
 bipedale dolia(re) 362  
 bip(edale) Sabin(um) 532  
 con(ductione) 545. 1477 (cond.)  
 de con(ductione) 390  
 ex conduc(tione) 761

(quas) condu(xit) (*sc.* figlinae)  
 643  
 q(uae) c(onduxit) 542  
 cur(ante) 1434-1436  
 quas cu(rant) (*sc.* figlinae) 363  
 sub cur(a) 1438 = suc. 1437  
 doliare 59 (*cf.* 268). 274 *cet.*  
 doliarem 831. 1257. 1538. 331  
 (*cf.* 1258)



dol. 265. 266 a. 267. 271 *cet.*  
 d. 262. 269. 319 *cet.*  
 doliaris figl(ina) 236  
 facit 476. 866. 943. 944. **568**  
 fa. 1203. 1430. 1431  
 fecit, fec., fe., f. *passim*  
 figlinae, figulinae *passim*  
 ex figlinis, de figlinis, figlinis  
*passim*  
 in figlin(is) Ocean(is) 357 (= **526**) *saepius*  
 fig. quae fue(runt) Sen(tii) Sa-  
 tr(ini) 1427  
 figlinator **311**  
 figul(o) *abl. abs.* 418. figulus 1415.  
 fig. **422** (*nisi cognomen est*)  
 for(nace) 58 (forn.). 63 (ex fur.).  
 64 a. 157. **24** (*cf.* 64 b) (forn.)  
 fundus 142. 236. 1684. **15** (*cf.* 39).  
**16**  
 heredes 419  
 negotiante 879. neg. 415-417. 418.  
 (negot.). 419. **105**  
 neg(otiatione) 430. 431?  
 flu(viati?) neg(otiatione) 649  
 neg(otiantibus) 432  
 n(egotiatione?) 830  
 nota Viccina **617** (add.)  
 officina, oficina *passim*  
 ex officina 477. 939. 1251. 1668  
*cet.*  
 de officina 1664. 1703 *cet.*  
 oficina *abl.* 880 *passim*  
 officinae *pl.* **574**  
 ex offi(cina) dolearia 1390  
 officinator 1697. XIV S I, 5308, 27  
 of. **435**  
 opus *passim*. ex opere 1439  
 opus doliare *passim*  
 opus fig(linum) 293. 410. 411. 1218.  
 1219-1221. 2187

opus figlinum doliare 279. 738. 746.  
 1047. 1500  
 de statione Surrentini 1712  
 tegla 2233. teg. 606. 2232. **172-174.**  
**176** (*cf.* 614). **177** (*cf.* 234)  
 t(egula?) Br(utiana) 28  
 t(egula) Narn(iensis) 349. 350  
 t(egula) Sal(aresis) 518 a  
 [te]cl(a) Supicia[na] (*sic*) 587  
 t(egula) Sul(piciana) 564  
 teg(ula) Temp(esina) **177** (*cf.*  
 234)  
 tegula Tonneiana 631 (Tunne-  
 iana). **196.**  
 teg. Ton. 637. 645  
 tegla V(icciana) **199**  
 tegula dol. 2290? teg. dol. 648. 649  
 tegla do[l. Ton.] **193.** teg. doli.  
 Toneiana 646. [te]g. dol. Tun.  
**195.**  
 teg. Tun. dol. 647. **194**  
 [te]cl. bipedalis doliaris 651 b  
 tegl. bipedal. doliar. 651 a; *cf.*  
*praeterea supra s. v. bipedale*  
 tegl(a) secipedale doliaris 650 a  
 tecl. seciped. dolia. 650 b  
 tes(sera) 184. 185  
 tessera doliar(is) 170  
*Acclamations:*  
 valeat qui fecit 119 (valeant).  
 1097 d. 1100. 1281 b. 1289  
 valeat qui fec. 1097 f-k. 1101 b.  
 1281 a. **285** valeat qui f. 120  
 valeat q. fec. 1098  
 valea. qui fec. 1097 e  
 val. qui fec. 150. 1097 c  
 v. q. f. 117. 118. 831. 921 a.  
 1095 (q. f. v.). v. o. f. (*sic*)  
 1096 a. b  
 vivas 1727



## H. GRAMMATICA QUAEDAM

## a. LITTERAE GEMINAE

*Litterae simplices pro geminis*

Buconiana, Boc. *cf.* **585** *et ind. V*  
 Coceius **418** oficina 693. 880. 939.  
 1640. 1676. 1689. 2205. 2379. XIV  
 S I, 5308, 20. **417. 613.** oficin. 2160.  
 oficn. 1302. ofici. 715. 716. 1501.  
 1598. 1678. ofic. 209. 364. 390. 568.  
 694. 729. 1532. 1576. 2158 (*cf.*  
**410**). 2167. 2225. 2442. **70** (*cf.*  
 291). **209. 572** (*cf.* 294). **611.** ofi.  
 2197 officinator 1697. XIV S I,  
 5308, 27 Successus 134. Suces. 225.  
 741 Viciana 663. 670 c Vicius  
 1512 a. 1513 Voconianae *cf.* **585**  
*et ind. V*

Apolinaris 661 a-b Apolonius 1321  
 Calistus 1681 Lucila 1050 Mes-  
 salinus 957. **435** Velicius **241**

Como(dus) 135. 1058 (Como-  
 dus). **43**  
 Umidius 731

Caetenius 1377 Erenius **429** Ino-  
 cens **611** Numidius 737. 738 (Nini-  
 dius) Toneius **202** (*cf.* 1846)  
 Toneiana 633 c *saepius, cf. ind. V*  
 Tyranus **456**

horea 4. **1. 2** Parhasius 2492

Casius 915 b

Aticus **419** Tetius **552**

*Litterae geminae pro simplicibus*  
 Vocconianae 687. **585** (*cf.* 686)  
 Bassulla 2201. 2202 dollare 400  
 Paullinus **106** Procill(ia) 1302

Publlianae **107** (*cf.* 420) Rupillia  
**576** (*cf.* 457)

Appollo 2156 (*cf.* **409**) Crispina  
 670 b Sepptimius 1428

Musses (*pro* Musae) 1375

Atteius 2309

Exxuperantius 1687

## b. VARIA DE SINGULIS LITTERIS

A *pro* AE: prad. 621

A *pro* AV: Cladius 933 e Isaricae  
 52 a

AE *pro* A: Aeproniano 1364

AE *pro* E: Aegn(atius) 251 Aepa-  
 gatus 841 Articulae(ius) 648 a  
 Caes(tianus) 483. **122** doliarae  
 376 a. 908 Naepos 2387 fig.  
 Ocaea(nae) 386 Paed(ucaeus)  
 244 Salaresae **134** (*cf.* 497)  
 Tonnaei(ana) 659 d

AI *pro* AE: Aim(ilia) **373** (*cf.*  
 1413) Caitenius 1377 Lailius  
 2454

AV *pro* AE: Caupion. 83

AV *pro* AO: Faurianae 212. 213.  
 329. 1600. 1601. **53**

B *omissa*: Pul. (*pro* Publ.) 1624-  
 1626

B *pro* V: Benerius 2311. **311** Berna  
 221 b Bism(atius) **402** Bi-  
 [ta]lis **11** (*cf.* 37) Iobia 1608-  
 1610 Lib(ianus) 559 off. Noba  
 1621 pribata 1545 Primitibus  
 747 Suabilla 167

C *pro* G: Aricnotus 1094 c. 1902  
 Auc(usta) 401. 724 Cal(li-  
 canus) 1430 ficlinae 280. 297a.

1375. **14** (*cf.* 287). opus ficlinu(m) 2187. ficli. 401. ficilinae 658 a-b. ficulin(ae) 670 b. fic. 368. 375. 548 c. 846. **69** (*cf.* 286) Incenuus **557**
- C *pro* QV: scipedale 650 tecl(a) v. *ind.* VI G
- E *inserta*: ex peredis 1203
- E *omissa*: f(ig.) Ternt. 630
- E *pro* AE: Bebius 885 Ce(dici-anus) **177** (*cf.* 234) Cepio(ni-ana) v. *ind.* V Cet(ennius?) 942 Lelianus 588 Petinus 267. 269. 272. 273. 680. 2393. **138** (Pe.) predia 179. 188. 191. 429. 462. 675. 702. 760 a-b. 763. 766. 768. 771. 780 d. **214** (*cf.* 723). predium 417. pred. 155. 162. 190. 403. 413. 541. 760 d. 762 a. pre. 100. 221. 681. 762 b. 1051. peredis *abl.* 1203 Prenestinus 913 b seculum 1542. 1543 a
- E *pro* I: Anecetianus 719 Arestianae 11 Canedienus 696 doleare 833 dolearia 1390 Euarestus 1096 f feglinae **25**
- E *pro* I: *in declinatione v. infra* Aeme(ili?) **425** Deceitius 2233 Etreili *gen.* 1129 Neicei. *gen.* **431** Opeilli *gen.* 1340
- F *pro* Ph: Eufraes *gen.* 1457 Fasis **405** Filtatus 2309 Symflon 821
- G *pro* C: Galvisi (= KAABEICEI *in eodem titulo*) *gen.* 555 Margel(lus) 855 Og(eanae), feg(it) 373
- H *adiecta (aspiratio falso admissa)*: Helpiszont. 1175 Honesi(mus) **595** (*cf.* 2048)
- H *omissa (aspiratio neglecta)*: *initio vocabuli*: Adrianus 1677 Amylla 355. **92. 93** Aterius **91**
- Ed(ys) 1436 Eli(us) 758 Erenius **429** Ieronis *gen.* 1199 Ieronymus 715 Ortensius 1259. Ortes(ius) **105** Subortanae *cet.* 542. 544-547. **155**
- inter duas vocales*: [I]oannes **612**
- post* c: Antiocus 966 c (*cf.* 966 a). 1979. **187** (*cf.* 2036). **299** Cresimus 122 c Exsoces 2383 Isocrysus 1331 a Nearcus 1270 Pannycus 746
- post* p: Dapni *gen.* 1122 Dipl. (= Diphilus?) 2239. **345?** (Dpl.) Grapi(cus) **237** (*cf.* 851) Niceporus 1979
- post* r: fig. Rod(inianae) 472. 474 Rodo 2444 (= **301**)
- post* t: Aepagatus 841 Agatyr-sus 466 a (Agatursus). 467 [B]a-tyllus 2381 b Gobatus 928 b. Pantagatus 564. **159**
- H *transposita*: Anthiocus 438. 966 a Crhyseros 1105 (= 2434). Eucrhi *gen.* **294** (*cf.* 1151)
- I *inserta*: figilinae 545. 2508. **147. 187** (*cf.* 2036). figil. 187. 644. 698. 699. **48** (*cf.* 198). **83**. ficilinae 658 a-b Niepos 1118 b Ponticlianae (*pro* Ponticulanae) 403
- I *omissa*: Artculeius 844 Dipl. (= Diphilus) 2239. **345?** (Dpl.; *cf.* fgl. (= figlinis) 1425) Max-mus 253 b Maxm. 325 Quetus 2478 Trophmus 1115 c (*cf.* **287**) Vicanne 658 a-b
- I *pro* E: Ocianus 387. 388 (*cf.* ILS 9265) Sisin(na) **580** (*cf.* 509) Viienti *gen.* 1349
- I *pro* V: Brittidius, Brittius v. *ind.* I Ninidius 738

- I *pro* Y: Dioni(sius) 912 Eutichus **194** Staphilus **120**
- K: Kanini(anae) 139. Kan. 131. K. 121 Kanus 707
- M *adiecta in fine vocabuli*: opus doliarem 759. 2177. doliarem 831. 1257. 1538. **331** (*cf.* 1258)
- N *inserta*: Aringno(tus) 1094 f Senptimian(ae) 536 b-c
- N *omissa*: Alexsad(er) 173 Cesurinus 1609 Cresces 2441. 2458. **478. 561** Hortesius 416. 417. Ortes(ius) **105** Pot. (*pro* Pont.?) 413 Pudes 2493 **41** (*cf.* 2071) Quintanesib(us) 462 b Vales 1489. 2553
- N *pro* L: Publinianae 429
- N *pro* M: Anbibul(us) 105 a-b. **371** Ponpeianus 1058 Ponpeius 758 (Pon.). 1369 Ponponius 1375 Samnius 1409. 1410
- N *pro* R: Anigno(tus) 1024
- O *pro* A: Tro(ianus) 313
- O *pro* V: Ambibo(lus) 1228 a Boc(oniana) *cf.* **585 et ind.** V Cosin(ia) 959 (Cos.). 960 [P]oblicius 2186
- P *pro* FF: opic(ina) 1555
- PH *pro* F: Phidele *abl.* 625. 628. **190** (*cf.* 1947) phig(linae) 290
- PL *pro* BL: Puplilius **438**
- Q *pro* C: Qurtius 966 c-d. **262**
- Q *pro* QV: Torqat. 358
- R *omissa*: paedi(a) 362. 402 (paed.)
- S *inserta*: Helpiszont. (*cf.* VI 12116/7) 1175
- S *omissa*: Augutalis 377 c (*cf.* **95**) Fautina 398 b Retitutus **523** secipedale 650 Vimatius 407. 730. 1517. 2497
- S *pro* C: Boson(iana) 1555
- S *pro* X: Ses. (*pro* Sex.) 758
- S *pro* Z: Sosumus **308** Zosome-  
n(a) 709 b
- T *pro* P: Hitpolitus **388** (*cf.* 2052)
- V *inserta inter duas vocales*: Nicolavu[s] **306**
- V *omissa inter duas vocales*: Faor 904 b-d. 2423. **110. 474** Faorian(ae) 214. 216. 219 (*cf.* **51**). 220. 222. **52** Noae (*pro* Novae) 201 Primitius 113. 1016
- V *pro* B: Favi(ana) 209 Gavinius **134** (*cf.* 497) Vellicius 887 b-c. 1148. Velicius **241**
- V *vocalis inserta*: figulinae 155. 190. 256. 372. 381. 475. 567. 617. 666. 670 (ficulin. 670 b). 688. 2075 (*bis*). figuli. 1537. figul. 235. 424. 429. 1259. figu. 415
- V *vocalis omissa*: Ponticlanae 404. 407. Ponticlianae 403. Ponticl. 398 a Procla, Proclus *passim*; *cf. ind. II* tegla 2233. **193. 199.** tegl. 650 a. 651 a. tecl. 587. 650 b. 651 b Vetrius (*pro* Veturius) 1496
- V *simplex pro V gemina*: Lanvio **445**
- V *pro* AV: Cludiana 1563 e
- V *pro* I: Camudenus 697 Septumius **441** Sosumus **308**
- V *pro* O: Cesurinus 1609 fur(nace) 63 Subarus 2307 Suburtan. 546. 547 Tunneiana v. *ind. V*
- V *pro* Y: Agatursus 466 a Mur(inus) 288 Philargur[us] 2285 Suner(os) 972
- X *pro* S: Sexti (*pro* Sesti) 1445 c. 1446 (Sex.)
- XS *pro* X: Alexsad(er) 173. Alexander 717 Exsoces *gen.* 2383 Philoxsenus 839

Y *pro* I: Fyrmus *v. ind. II* Ly-  
chimn(us) **221** Myrynus 1252  
Y *pro* V: Nyn(nidius) 849  
Z *pro* S: Zmaragdus 2418 Zoso-  
men(a) 709 b

*Assimilatio contra usum admissa:*  
suc. 1437 = sub cur(a) 1438 (*cf.*  
*ILS III 2, p. 841<sup>II</sup>*)

#### c. VARIA DE SYLLABIS

##### *Syllabae omissae*

*haploglogia:* Publianae 423 Res-  
tutus 289 (*cf. ind. II*)  
*praeterea:* Asiaco (*pro* Asiatico)  
**100. 101**

##### *Terminationes substitutae*

-alis *pro* -ianus: Cepional. 56. 67  
-anus *pro* -ianus: Caepionana 79.  
105 Viccanae 658 a-b  
-ensis *vel* -e(n)sis *pro* -ianus:  
Sulpigiens. 588 Sulpices(e) 561  
Viccies(e) 669  
-esis *pro* -ensis: Quintanesib(us)  
462  
-esis *pro* -ulanus: Pontices(es) **102**  
-ianus *pro* -inus: Satrianus (*pro*  
Satrinus?) *v. ind. II* Tempe-  
sianae **184** (*cf. 229 b*)<sup>add.</sup>  
-inus *pro* -ianus: Brutinus **16** Vic-  
cina **617** (*add.*)  
-ienus *pro* -aenius: Pullaienus **366**  
(*cf. 1993*) (*sed cf. 365*)  
-enus *pro* -ienus: Camudenus 697  
-us *pro* -anus: Macedonis *abl.* 297 b

#### d. DECLINATIO NOMINUM

##### *Prima declinatio*

*gen. sing. 1. decl. in -aes:* Aemi-  
liaes Severaes 429. 432 (Sever.).  
433 (Severes) Anniaes Fausti-  
nae 731 a Antoniaes 430 Arriaes  
Fadillae 81 Domitiaes Lucillaes

2517 Faustinaes 161. **212** Fla-  
viaes Domitil. 1139 Flaviaes  
Pelagiaes **296** (*cf. 2012*) Flavi-  
aes Proclae 1157 Isauricaes 421.  
**\*378** Iuliaes Meniles 1375 Iu-  
liaes Proclae **195** Iuniaes An-  
toniaes 430 Iustaes 2174 Lucil-  
laes 1064. \*2484. 2517 Paetinaes  
**196** Pelagiaes **296** (*cf. 2012*)  
Plotiaes Isauricae 67 a Plotinaes  
694. 699 Proclae 1157. **195**  
Publiciaes 761 Domitiae Resti-  
tutaes 1126 (*cf. 289*) Rufinaes  
774 Rutiliaes 2195 Seiaes **375**.  
\*2000 Seiaes Isauricaes 421.  
1425 (Isauricae) Severaes 429  
Titiaes Rufinaes 774 Valeriaes  
Nices 693 Vibiaes 200  
*gen. sing. 1. decl. (Latin.) in -es:*  
Faustines **214** (*cf. 723*) Iuliaes  
Meniles 1375 Musses 1375 Pe-  
danies Quintillae 643 Prastines  
2190 Iuliae Procles 651 a Ae-  
miliaes Severes 433  
*gen. sing. 1. decl. in -e:* Lucille **282**  
(*cf. 1092*) Operate 680 Iuliae  
Procle 650 b Flaviae Procule  
1158 Rome 1541. 1664-1666 (*cf.*  
**607**). **606** Scapule (?) 1415  
Senece 1605  
*abl. plur. 1. decl. in -eis:* figilineis  
**431**  
*casus incertus 1. decl.:* figline Capi-  
tonis 2200

##### *Secunda declinatio*

*nom. sing. 2. decl. in -os:* Iunio(s)  
2452 servos **454**  
*gen. sing. 2. decl. in -ei:* Flavei **425**  
Fulvei \*2040  
*nom. pl. 2. decl. in -eis:* C. L.  
Tossieis 2501 (= 1479) Dapsi-  
liis XIV S I, 5308, 18



Quarta declinatio

abl. sing. 4. decl. in -o: de porto  
Parrae 409 (ad normam 2. decl.)

Declinatio Graeca

gen. sing. 1. decl. masc. in -aes:  
Damaes 980 Eufraes [*potius*  
*quam* Eufrae s(ervi)] 1457  
Sotadaes 991 Zabdaes 809 b

gen. sing. 1. decl. fem. in -es:  
Chiones 342 Exsoces 2383  
Meniles 1375 Nices 693

gen. sing. 1. decl. fem. in -enis:  
Nicen(is) 694

gen. sing. 1. decl. fem. in -e(s)  
vel -e(nis): Chione. 341 (*cf.* 89).  
Nice. 692 Phoebe. 2346

gen. sing. 3. decl. masc. (nom. in  
-as) in -antis: Pallan(tis) 390  
Thoantis 220

gen. sing. 3. decl. masc. (nom. in  
-es): Apellet(is) 2201 [E]use-  
beti(s) 472 Thaletis 1336  
Terenis (nom. Teres) 2323

gen. sing. 3. decl. masc. (nom. in  
-os) in -nis: Eronis 1465. \*1943.  
2236. 2237

3. decl. masc., nom. in -ys:  
gen.: Hedyt(is) 1437. Hedys 1439  
abl.: Hedyn(e) 1434. 1435

3. decl. gener. fem., nom. in -is:  
gen.: Isis (ab Isis; *cf.* ILS 1930  
*et* 4181 a) 252 Phasis 1536

gen.: A[t]thidis 1140 Fasidis 405  
Lysidis 474 Pyrallidis XIV S I,  
5308, 30

abl.: Pyramidi 191

Heterocliton

gen.: Trophimatis 390

Genera nominum permutata

opus doliarem 759. 2177

e. SYNTAXIS

*Praepositiones cum casu non suo*  
ab

ab Appia Pyramidi 191  
ab L. Licinio Felicis 635 b  
ab L. Licinio Felicem 635 a

ex cum accusativo

(*cf. supra pp.* 10-12)

ex figulinis Oceanis maioris 372

ex p. Aug. n., ex fig. Publilianas  
425

de pred. Aug. n., ex figulinas

Veteres 190

ex figil. Veteris 48 (*cf.* 198)

ex predis d(omini) n(ostri) et fig-  
linis Veteres 188 (*sed cf.* 204:

ex praedis domini n. et figl.

Novis)

*praepositione ex secundo loco*

(*ante accusativum*) omissa

(*cf. supra pp.* 10-12)

o(pus) do(liare) ex (praedis)

Faust(inae) Aug(ustae), fig. Ra-  
ninianas, Rutili Sucessi 134

op(us) d(oliare) ex pr(aedis) Aug.  
n(ostri), f(ig)l(inas) Domitianas  
maiores 163. 164

opus doliare ex praed(is) Aug. n.,  
figlin(as) Domitianas minores,  
Numeri Iusti 176

op. dol. ex praed. Aug. n., figl.  
Domitianas minor(es) 178

op. dol. ex pr. dom(inicis) Aug. n.,  
figlinas Genianas 237

op. dol. ex pr. Augg. nn., fig. Ge-  
nianas, L. Lani Festi 238

op. dol. ex pr. domini n(ostri) Aug.,  
figlinas Marcianas 323

op. dol. ex pr. Augg. nn., fig. Novas,  
Font(ei) Procli et Ingenua(e)

205

op. dol. ex pr. C. [Ful(vi) Plaut.  
pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio) c. v.]  
cos. II, figlin(as) Novas 206  
op. dol. ex praed. Aug. n., fig.  
Oceanas maiores 371  
op. dol. ex praed. Aug. n., figlin.  
Ponticlanas 404  
op. dol. ex pr. Aug. n., fig. Publi-  
lianas 426 (cf. 425: opus dol. ex  
p. Aug. n., ex fig. Publilianas)  
op. dol. ex pr. domini n(ostri) Aug.,  
figl. Vocconianas 687  
cf. *praeterea*: fundum Siliani, Ser-  
vili Processi, praedia centurion(i-  
ca) 142  
*Huc pertinere videntur lateres qui  
sequuntur, omnes aetatis Septimi  
Severi vel Antonini (cf. supra  
p. 11):* 44. 47. 48. 159. 160.  
166. 174. 181. 183. 197. 202. 203.  
214. 216-220. 222. 240. 241. 324.  
325. 382. 383. 413. 602. 624. 625.  
626. 628. 629. 686. 689. 690. **46.**  
**47. 190** (cf. 1947)  
*Casus contra consuetudinem positi  
Casus permutati*  
operis dolia(ris?) Cosmus *pro* opus  
doliare Cosmi 856

*Genitivus pro ablativo*  
Condiani et Maximi cos. 1144  
f. VOCABULA RARA VEL INAUDITA  
ex offi(cina) dolearia (cf. *TLL V 1*,  
1831, 69) 1390  
figlinator **311**  
provisio limena(ria) 1542. 1543 (li-  
meniana)  
limenarc(ha) 1544  
nota Viccina **617** (add.)

g. ANALECTA NONNULLA  
*Singulae syllabae bis positae:*  
FLGEAORAOR = fig. Faoraor  
222  
fig. Genianianis 243  
*Vocabulum COS omisum in nota  
consulari:* 512. 563 a-c. e. g-k.  
619\*. 738? 1046. 1116 c. 1219.  
1227 b. 1255. 1257. **122**  
*Vocabulum COS non suo loco posi-  
tum:* 504. 536. 648 a. 1292. 1299  
*Ordo verborum inusitatus:* 363.  
419. 1028. 1532. **102 saepius**  
*Titulus bilinguis:* 555

## I. ANALECTA VARIA

## a. AEDIFICIA

castra praetori(a) Aug(usti)  
n(ostri) (v. *ind. VI E*) 3  
hor(r)ea Mamerciana Caesaris  
A(ugusti) 1. 2 (Caesaris n.)  
hor(r)ea Postumiana Caesaris  
n(ostri) A(ugusti) 4  
hor(ti?) *vel* hor(re?) Popisc. (*ni-  
si potius nomen est; v. ind. I s.*  
*Hor. Popisc.*) 676

## b. DIES

Idibus Mart(iis) (a. 123) **87. 88**

## c. SERVI

*De servis libertisque imperatorum  
v. ind. III*  
(servi) C. Caes(aris) vicarius (v.  
*ind. III*) 1404  
(Aug(usti) disp(ensatoris) arcari)  
vic(arius) **537**



- d. SIGNACULA IN QUIBUS VERBA  
DELETA VEL CORRECTA SUNT
- 32 = **9** (*nomine* M. RVTILI LVPI  
*deleto*)
- 536 c = 536 b (*cognomine* PRIMO  
*deleto*)
- 541 b = 541 a (*nomine imp.*  
COMM. *deleto*)
- 658 b = 658 a (*litteris* ICC *inter* V  
*et* A (*Viccanis*) *deletis*)
- 769 b = 769 a (*litteris* G N *verbo-*  
*rum* AVGG. NN. *deletis post-*  
*quam* Geta anno 212 *interfectus*  
*est*; 769 a: AVGG NN; 769 b:  
AVG/ /N)
- 922 (*cf.* **250**) = 923 (*versu* altero  
*deleto*)
- 1044 b = 1044 a (*verbis* TERT.  
SER. *deletis*)
- 1257 = **331** (*cf.* 1258) (*consulum*  
*anni* 124 *nominibus* *additis*)
- 1358 b (= 2446) = 1358 a (= **307**) (*vocabulo* SER. *post. Phile-*  
*rotis manumissionem deleto*)
- 1440 a = 1440 b (*nomine* BALBIN.  
*in* BRTTIO *correcto*)
- Praeterea:*
- 106 b (*cf.* **36**) (*sex circiter litterae*  
*deletae sunt*)
- 108 (*quattuor circiter litterae dele-*  
*tae*)
- 150 (*praenomen Licini Montani*  
*deletum*)
- 164 (*littera* N (*nostri*) *quae sequi-*  
*tur vocem* AVG *deleta*)
- 265, 270 (*littera* N *verbi* PÆTIN  
*deleta*)
- 685 (*septem circiter litterae dele-*  
*tae*)
- 750 (*vox* AVG *correcta in* Q *litteris*  
AV *deletis*)
- 63** (*quattuor circiter litterae dele-*  
*tae*)

# CONSPECTUS INDICUM

	pag.
I. Nomina virorum et mulierum	15
II. Cognomina virorum et mulierum	52
III. Imperatores et domus eorum. Reges Gothorum	77
Imperatores p. 77. Reges Gothorum p. 82.	
Lateres notas exhibentes <i>Caes. n., Aug. n.,</i> <i>dom. n.</i> cet. p. 80	
IV. Consules aliaeque anni determinationes	82
Consules annorum incertorum p. 87.	
Indictiones p. 87.	
V. Figlinae, praedia, fundi, officinae, portus	87
VI. Notabilia varia	93
A. Res publica populi Romani	93
a. Munera et dignitates	93
b. Rationes et res domestica imperatoris; sigla enuntiantia administrationem officinarum aetatis Diocletianae	94
B. Res militaris	94
C. Res sacra	94
D. Civitas Romana. Tribus	95
E. Geographica	95
F. Res municipalis	95
G. Verba ad rem figlinam pertinentia	95
H. Grammatica quaedam	97
a. Litterae geminae	97
b. Varia de singulis litteris	97
c. Varia de syllabis	100
d. Declinatio nominum	100
e. Syntaxis	101
f. Vocabula rara vel inaudita	102
g. Analecta nonnulla	102
I. Analecta varia	102
a. Aedificia	102
b. Dies	102
c. Servi	102
d. Signacula in quibus verba deleta vel correcta sunt	103

# ANCIENT IMPERIALISM: CONTEMPORARY JUSTIFICATIONS <sup>1</sup> \*

BY MASON HAMMOND

## I

**I**MPERIALISM is a word of relatively recent coinage.<sup>2</sup> Down to the middle of the nineteenth century, its cognate "imperialist" meant in English a supporter of the Holy Roman Empire and then of the first and second Napoleonic Empires. The term "imperialism" appeared about 1860 to signify: "an imperial system of government; the rule of an emperor, especially when despotic or arbitrary." The expansionist policy of the British government during the second half of the nineteenth century gave the word a slightly different twist. "Imperialism" became in the 1890's a political catchword which denoted either "the principle or spirit of empire" or more specifically, "the principle or policy of seeking an extension of empire."<sup>3</sup> The present discussion will use the word only in the last of these meanings, that is, an urge on the part of one people to extend its political rule over others. Though the word "imperialism" itself is modern, this drive has characterized certain peoples as far back as history reaches. In particular, it characterized the Persians, the Athenians, the Macedonians, and the Romans.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, reflective persons among these ancient peoples were not blind to its existence, whatever the term, *ἀρχή*, *δυναστεία*, or *imperium*, which they applied to it. Their attempts to rationalize and justify the imperialism of their respective peoples form a suitable introduction to a consideration of imperialism in general.

The imperialistic urge begins as an attempt by a given people forcefully to establish its racial, political, cultural, or economic domination over other peoples. If the attempt succeeds, there results a state of

\* Because of the length of the notes to this article, they have been printed after the text.

vast size composed of more or less distinct cultural units. These lead their own diverse cultural lives subject to a single centralized will, which gives them equal recognition socially, politically, economically, and culturally.<sup>5</sup> While every imperialistic people attempts to some extent to impose its political and cultural patterns upon its conquests, empires as just defined are characterized by a wide tolerance on the part of the ruling people for local political and cultural systems. Generally any uniformity results rather from imitation of the dominant system by the subjects than from the forceful imposition thereof. If there is a successful imposition of the dominant system, the resultant elimination of differences produces a unified "national" state rather than an empire. The empires with which this discussion is concerned displayed to a marked degree tolerance of local differences.

The causes and methods of imperialism have been much discussed since the publication in 1902 of a critique of British imperialism by an anti-imperialist, J. A. Hobson.<sup>6</sup> His argument "was to the effect that whereas various real and powerful motives of pride, prestige, and pugnacity, together with the more altruistic professions of a civilizing mission, figured as causes of imperial expansion, the dominant directive motive was the demand for markets and for profitable investment by the exporting and financial classes within each imperialistic regime."<sup>7</sup> This economic interpretation of imperialism became very fashionable and has been applied both to Athens and to Rome.<sup>8</sup> However, W. L. Langer pointed out in a critique of Hobson's book, published in 1935, that the thesis is not in itself tenable and that other factors, recognized by Hobson as subsidiary, have as much importance as the economic.<sup>9</sup> For instance, imperialism, by satisfying the superiority complex of the general public, affords demagogues the opportunity to enlarge on the theme of conquest.<sup>10</sup> Or a people who thinks itself better than its neighbors may invoke "sociological Darwinism," the presumed "right" of the fittest to dominate over the less fit and to carve up the decadent.<sup>11</sup> Many peoples sincerely feel that they have a better religion or higher culture than others and should extend the benefits thereof by a sort of missionary imperialism.<sup>12</sup> In the end, the strongest element in the imperialistic urge is probably the atavistic, irrational "disposition of a state to forceful

expansion without any special object and without a definable limit.”<sup>13</sup> Although the present discussion is not concerned primarily with the causes and methods of imperialism, it will appear that all the above motives were invoked by ancient thinkers to account for contemporary empire-building.

As a last prefatory qualification, the definition of imperialism here adopted has no reference to the form of government of a people which evidences the imperialistic urge.<sup>14</sup> The earlier significance of imperialism was indeed, “the rule of an emperor, especially when despotic or arbitrary.” Because British imperialism at the end of the nineteenth century was connected with Disraeli’s elevation of Queen Victoria to be Empress of India in 1877, even the derivative meaning with which this discussion is concerned carries an overtone not only of a wide-flung empire including many peoples but also of a single ruler to whose will they are all equally subject. Yet Athens in the fifth century B.C. was ruled by its popular assemblies, and republican Rome during its Mediterranean expansion by an oligarchic senate. It may be that, in antiquity, Cyrus and Alexander found their counterparts in Pericles and Pompey and in modern times that a Disraeli or a Teddy Roosevelt were imperialist successors to Napoleon; that, in short, imperialism, whether as applied to a form of government or to the expansion of national domination, generally reflects the guidance of a single will, whereas an aristocracy or oligarchy is opposed to expansion.<sup>15</sup> Even so, the constitution, under which the imperialistic urge of a people is aroused and directed by a single forceful individual, need not be monarchical.

## II

It is likely that the Egyptian Pharaohs who sought to extend their rule outside of the Nile Valley and the successive kingdoms which attempted to dominate the Mesopotamian Valley and adjacent areas responded simply to the atavistic urge towards conquest whether felt by the whole people or by the ruler.<sup>16</sup> For the purpose of the present discussion, only the last of these, the Persian, need be considered. For the Persian Empire most completely of them all transcended the concept of mere conquest and developed a “heterogeneous empire,



subdivided not into nations but into administrative districts.”<sup>17</sup> The Persians did not, on the whole, force their religion and language upon conquered peoples. They established a loose administrative unity, which depended largely on the loyalty of the governors to the ruler and on such common services as roads, coinage, and defense. The different peoples incorporated in the Persian Empire received equal treatment and continued to enjoy their native cultures.<sup>18</sup> Thus the Persians set the pattern of an imperial, rather than a nationalistic, state for Alexander and the Romans to follow.<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, the Persian kings seem to have rationalized their atavistic urge to conquer by explicitly justifying their rule on the basis of their Zoroastrian religion.<sup>20</sup> Zoroaster had taught that throughout the universe the forces of good are aligned against the forces of evil. The Persian king claimed to represent on earth the divine Lord of All Good. It was therefore the duty of all men of good will to unite under him in the truceless conflict against evil. He in turn was presumed to rule according to justice and equity in the straight way of the law of the Lord of Good.<sup>21</sup> This is the missionary or moral justification of imperialism, namely, that rulers are entitled to rule because they are good and rule justly.

### III

The particularism which characterized Greek politics was even from the time of Homer counterbalanced by a sense of common race. When in the early days one community sought to expand at the expense of its neighbors, it did so either by conquest, as Sparta annexed Messene, by absorption, as Athens incorporated Attica, or by simple federation, as Thebes organized Boeotia. In these cases, the small area affected and the kinship of the peoples concerned prevent us from calling the domination imperialistic.<sup>22</sup> When in the sixth century B.C. Sparta aspired to the leadership of Greece, she exercised only a loose leadership or hegemony and not direct rule. When Athens, by her courage during the Persian Wars, won the preëminence from Sparta after 479 B.C., she too attempted at first only a hegemony of communities, particularly of those in the Aegean area, who had formed a common league with its headquarters at the island

shrine of Delos. But the Athenian populace began to throw off the restraints of the old-fashioned conservative control which had previously been exercised by the well-to-do landed families. They soon realized what the empire might mean to them in jobs and revenue and their appetites were whetted by the new demagogic leaders, Ephialtes and Pericles.<sup>23</sup> In 454 B.C. the treasury of the League was shifted from Delos to Athens.<sup>24</sup> Thereafter the Athenians treated the allied states as subjects, subjects to be sure of the same language and race, but subjects who enjoyed under Athenian domination their local political and cultural life. Hence the Athenian control may justly be called imperialistic.

Little contemporary justification of the Athenian Empire survives from the period before the Peloponnesian War.<sup>25</sup> The tragedians and Herodotus are silent. However a writer of the succeeding generation, who had witnessed the downfall of the empire, purports to give Pericles' own justification of his imperialistic policy. Thucydides placed in the mouth of Pericles the famous Funeral Oration, delivered in 430 B.C. over those who had fallen during the first year of the war.<sup>26</sup> In the course of this exaltation of Athens, Thucydides makes Pericles claim that the city was the school of Hellas, the champion of freedom, and the cultural leader whose rule conveyed benefits which far outweighed the revenues which she derived from her subjects.<sup>27</sup> According to Thucydides, therefore, Pericles propounded the missionary justification for imperialism, on a cultural rather than, as had the Persians, on a religious basis.

In the spring of 430 B.C. a terrible plague devastated Athens. It produced not only a severe loss of man power but also, as Thucydides remarks, a terrible decline in public and private morality.<sup>28</sup> The populace turned against Pericles as the cause of their woes and Thucydides attributes to him a speech in his own defense in which there is a marked change of tone from the high idealism of the Funeral Oration.<sup>29</sup> In defense of his policy of imperialism based on control of the sea, he no longer appealed to Athenian culture but to the self-interest of the Athenians in maintaining both the power and the reputation which they had attained, an interest which, he felt, far outweighed their losses in Attica because of the invasion of the

Spartans or the afflictions resulting from the plague. In particular, he pointed out to the populace that they were not fighting merely to preserve their freedom and avert slavery, but to preserve their empire and avoid revenge for their unpopular rule. It was too late for them to abandon the empire, for the rule which they held was like a tyranny — *ὡς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτήν* — which, unjust though it may have been to assume, was certainly dangerous to let go. Only a subject state, not an imperial one, could afford the luxury of submission.<sup>30</sup>

Pericles won back popular support, but in the following year, 429 B.C., he died and the leadership passed to less worthy, more self-centered men.<sup>31</sup> These new demagogues developed the selfish motives of profit and of survival which were adumbrated in Pericles' defense of his imperial program.<sup>32</sup> These justifications appear frequently in Thucydides' account of the speeches and dealings of Athens during the course of the Peloponnesian War. The classic expression of the justification in terms of power politics is attributed to Cleon, in the speech in which he urged that the people of Mytilene be severely punished for their abortive attempt to revolt from the empire in 427 B.C.<sup>33</sup> He remarks to the Athenians in an almost verbatim quotation from Pericles: "you should remember that your empire is a despotism — *ὅτι τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχήν* — exercised over unwilling subjects."<sup>34</sup> Similarly, the Athenian emissaries who were sent in 416 B.C. to urge the people of Melos to join the empire voluntarily rather than to await conquest disclaimed that the Athenian rule was justified because of the Athenian defeat of Persia two generations previously, and based their argument purely on expediency, *τὸ ξυμφέρον*.<sup>35</sup> A year later, in the great debate on the wisdom of attempting to occupy Sicily, Alcibiades, according to Thucydides, supported the expedition in opposition to Nicias on slightly different grounds. He appealed to national pride and argued that unless the empire continued to expand it would begin to decay.<sup>36</sup>

The shift from the ideals of Pericles to the motives of self-interest and national pride does not, naturally, reflect a shift in Thucydides' own feelings. He was sufficient of a dramatist so that it is hard to discover what he himself felt about the empire. Despite his admiration

for Pericles, he may have thought that some sort of federal arrangement under Athenian hegemony would have been more successful.<sup>37</sup> Certainly he held that the selfish and ruthless imperialism of the populace under its demagogic leaders, whether these were the self-made Cleon or the brilliant and ambitious aristocrat Alcibiades, had been the ruin of Athens. The arguments of the demagogues undoubtedly reflect the thesis advanced by the more wordly and practical of the contemporary modernists, the Sophists.<sup>38</sup> One of these, Thrasymachus, is introduced into Plato's *Republic*, whose dramatic date is about 420 B.C., to support the thesis that justice is whatever the stronger party can get away with.<sup>39</sup> The same argument is brought out, whether sarcastically or not critics fail to agree, in a little essay on the Athenian government preserved among the works of Xenophon. This essay apparently presents the viewpoint of a conservative oligarch in the mid years of the Peloponnesian War.<sup>40</sup> The author points out to what a degree the empire benefited the Athenian populace in terms of revenues and jobs. Finally, the conservative comic poet Aristophanes, who looked back longingly to the heroic days of the "Marathonomachoi," the victors over Persia, constantly criticized the selfish imperialism that was ruining Athens by involving it in the long-drawn-out war with Sparta.<sup>41</sup>

And, in fact, Athens was ruined and her ruin left a lasting conviction among Greek and Roman political thinkers that popular democratic rule was as dangerous, if not more so, as the much hated tyranny.<sup>42</sup> Surviving classical literature in general represents the conservative view of the vested, propertied interests. Plato and Aristotle, spokesmen for these interests, point to the downfall of Athens as a justification for aristocratic control of a city-state and for avoidance of imperialistic expansion beyond the narrow geographic limits in which the city-state could function.<sup>43</sup> During the fourth century B.C., the dominance of Sparta and then of Thebes in Greece reverted to a hegemony over allies as against direct rule.<sup>44</sup> Athens, when she tried to revive her Aegean hegemony, expressly agreed to avoid those imperialistic abuses which had made her previous dominance so unpopular.<sup>45</sup>



## IV

Yet the urge towards imperialism did not die out in Greece. The distinguished political pamphleteer of the fourth century B.C., Isocrates, sought a cure for the constant dissensions between the particularist city-states in the advocacy of Pan-Hellenism.<sup>46</sup> For an emotional ground on which to unite all Greeks, he appealed to the heroic period of the Persian Wars when all differences had been sunk in a common effort against an alien barbarian foe. He advocated a crusade against the Persian empire to free the cities of Asia Minor, which had definitely been surrendered to the Great King in 387 B.C. by the so-called King's Peace or Peace of Antalcidas.<sup>47</sup> Hence the Pan-Hellenism of Isocrates required as a corollary an imperialistic war which would unite all Greeks against a common foe and which would depend on a common feeling of Greek superiority to other, non-Greek peoples. This is not the place to trace the history in Greek literature of the concept of the barbarian, the non-Greek, and of the conflicting attitudes, often found in the same author, both of admiration for non-Greek peoples and of superiority to them.<sup>48</sup> Isocrates, however, paved the way for a new definition of the contrast between Greek and barbarian. Thereafter this contrast was less and less racial and more and more one between civilized and uncivilized. Isocrates himself, in his *Panegyric* on Athens, said: "so far has our city left the rest of mankind behind her in thought and speech that her students have become the teachers of others, and she has made the name of the Hellenes to seem to be no longer one of race but of intellect, and those rather to be called Hellenes who share in our culture than in our descent."<sup>49</sup> Though he may have had in mind the civilizing effect of Athens on other Greeks to which Pericles had appealed, his idea was developed practically by Alexander's successors and philosophically by the Stoics to divide mankind into those on the one hand who were Hellenized, that is civilized, and were therefore fit to rule both themselves and others, and those on the contrary who were not civilized, who were barbarians, by nature slaves, and who needed the rule of their betters.<sup>50</sup>

Isocrates' Pan-Hellenic crusade had a second corollary, the need



of a leader who would transcend the individual city-states. As Barker says, "it was not that he sought a monarchy or believed in a monarchy. He sought only a new Agamemnon, commander-in-chief of the forces of a new Greek symmarchy . . . the symmarchy of his dream would thus have been a military *entente* of autonomous cities under a generalissimo who might be king in his own country, but among his allies was simply a chosen commander."<sup>51</sup> Isocrates looked in various quarters for such a leader. Sentimentally he hoped that Athens might assume the role, but she preferred her particularism and independence.<sup>52</sup> He therefore turned to such contemporary rulers as Nicocles of Cyprus, Dionysius of Syracuse, and Archidamus of Sparta.<sup>53</sup> But in the end he settled on Philip of Macedon, in whom he hoped to find the character of soul, the human sympathy, and the good will towards the Greeks which should characterize his ideal leader.<sup>54</sup> Hence this second corollary of the Isocratean program popularized the concept of the ideal ruler, a concept also presented by Xenophon in his *Cyropaedeia* in a more practical form than in the philosopher-king of Plato's *Republic*.<sup>55</sup> In Goodenough's words: "it is notable that Isocrates, the pupil of Gorgias, does not once approach the problem of royalty or tyranny from the point of view of the Sophists. The right of the strong to assert himself is never hinted. The sanction of monarchy is the legal, moral, and philosophical character of the ruler and his actions."<sup>56</sup>

## V

Isocrates, born in the heyday of the Periclean Age, in 436 B.C., died a few days after the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C.<sup>57</sup> It is doubtful whether Milton's words, based on an ancient tradition, really represent his feelings:

as that dishonest victory  
At *Chaeronea*, fatal to liberty  
Kill'd with report that Old man eloquent . . .<sup>58</sup>

He might well have regarded Philip's triumph as the final defeat of the Greek particularism which Demosthenes had personified and the first step towards the realization of his own Pan-Hellenic ideal.

Certainly Alexander, who succeeded as a youth of twenty to his father's throne in 336 B.C., began by following very closely the program of Isocrates.<sup>59</sup> It appears probable that initially Alexander, pupil of Aristotle and ardent admirer of Homer, conceived himself to be the leader of a Pan-Hellenic crusade of Greeks for the liberation of Asia Minor, a crusade the way for which had been prepared by nearly a century of Greek operations across the Aegean.<sup>60</sup> But his easy penetration beyond Asia Minor, a penetration which again had been foreshadowed by the march of Cyrus the Younger to Babylon and, after his defeat, the retreat thence of Xenophon's Ten Thousand, broadened Alexander's horizons.<sup>61</sup> In the end he found himself conqueror of the whole Persian Empire. He must have come to realize that so vast a territory and such a conglomerate of peoples required some other form of government than the tribal monarchy which he exercised over his Macedonians or the leadership of a Greek league. The natural form of government to which to turn was that with which the area was already familiar, an empire. This is not the place to attempt to analyze what Alexander finally purposed; that has recently been done ably by Professor Robinson. In setting himself up as a super-racial, semi-divine emperor, Alexander changed the character of his rule from the imperialistic domination by himself as leader of the Macedonians and Greeks over the barbarian Persians to the union of many different peoples, each of whom preserved their local political and cultural integrity, in equal subservience to his single will.<sup>62</sup> He may have conceived at the end that he could join the west to his eastern conquests and thus unite the whole inhabited world, what the Greeks called the *οἰκουμένη*, in one world-wide, or ecumenical, state.<sup>63</sup>

The successor states of the Hellenistic period were no longer, therefore, imperialistic in the sense of this discussion.<sup>64</sup> They did, indeed, compete with one another for the possession of certain border areas. But their rivalries and international politics resemble those of continental Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries rather than the imperialistic scramble of the nineteenth. Nevertheless the Hellenistic monarchies based their rule to some extent on imperialistic principles. To a greater or less degree, they recognized that the Mace-

donians and Greeks constituted a ruling class in virtue of their superior culture and excellence. By thus excluding in varying degrees the subject natives from their administrations and armies, they fell short of Alexander's ideal that good men should be promoted no matter what their race.<sup>65</sup> Secondly, they attempted, again in varying degrees, to Hellenize their subjects and thus carried out a civilizing mission with which Alexander would probably have agreed.<sup>66</sup> Finally, the ruler, save in the Macedonian kingdom, was exalted as divine and as an "animate law" whose spoken word, proceeding ultimately from eternal truth and wisdom, took the place of the written law which had been the basis of the Greek city-state.<sup>67</sup> The Hellenistic world generally accepted the traditional political theory that an aristocratic, sovereign city-state represented the finest framework for man. But this theory had less and less relation to the pragmatic political fact that the prevailing form of sovereign state was a monarchy, based on concepts which may justly be called imperialistic. This contrast between theory and fact was seriously to hamper the Romans when it came their turn to face the problem of empire.<sup>68</sup>

## VI

Rome's slow rise to the dominance of the Italian peninsula south of the Po Valley preceded the beginnings of her cultural self-consciousness as expressed in literature. The later historians who have preserved the record of early Rome interpreted her rise in the light of her final conquest of the Mediterranean world.<sup>69</sup> What they say in explanation or justification of her first successes does not preserve contemporary evidence but is only hindsight. However, the beginnings of Roman literary self-expression are contemporary with her expansion into the Mediterranean world outside of Italy during the century from the outbreak of the First Punic War in 264 B.C. to the defeat of Perseus, King of Macedon, at Pydna in 168 B.C. The writers of this heroic century might well be expected not merely to account for but also to justify Rome's annexations of alien lands. It is true that, except for the plays of Plautus, only fragments survive of these authors, who wrote in both prose and verse, in Greek and in Latin.<sup>70</sup> These fragments, preserved in most cases to illustrate archaic

language and grammar, do not perhaps afford a fair basis for judging the tone of the whole literature.<sup>71</sup> Yet the plays of Plautus and the fragments of the two great early epics on Rome's history, that of Naevius on the First Punic War and that of Ennius on Rome's annals since the legendary era, do breathe an almost Homeric pride in Rome and attribute her extraordinary achievements to the virtue and bravery of her citizens.<sup>72</sup> But they give no justification in abstract terms for her expansion. It may well be that Tenney Frank was right to argue that Rome was not initially imperialistic and that her expansion was due mainly to her desire to secure peace by preventing the rise of any strong rival power.<sup>73</sup> Or her conquests may simply have been the result of the atavistic, unreflective urge of a military people to go on fighting.

A Greek, not a Roman, first attempted to philosophize on Rome's expansion. Polybius was brought to Rome as a hostage from the Achaean League in 167 B.C. after the Battle of Pydna.<sup>74</sup> Fortunately he was received into the leading liberal families at Rome, those of Aemilius Paullus and the Scipios. In particular, he early became a sort of tutor-counselor to Scipio Aemilianus. This young man was a son of Aemilius Paullus who had been adopted by the son of Scipio Africanus. He became the leading figure at Rome during the second half of the century, the conqueror of Carthage and of Numantia in Spain. Polybius was himself the son of a statesman and had been active in the affairs of the Achaean League. He was fascinated by the interplay in history between chance on the one hand and individual or collective intelligence and worth on the other; he had, for his time, advanced ethical standards of political and military behavior; and he possessed, after Thucydides, the deepest insight of any classical historian into the historical process and the correlation of events on a universal basis.<sup>75</sup> He set out to explain to contemporary Greeks why the Romans, whom they regarded as uncivilized barbarians, had become the dominant Mediterranean power.<sup>76</sup> He attributed the success of the Romans to their individual uprightness and to the excellence of their aristocratic constitution. This constitution was not the work of one lawgiver, like the famous constitutions of Greece, but the result of racial genius working itself out in a slow



historical development.<sup>77</sup> Towards the end of his *History* there are suggestions that he thought that these characteristics were breaking down and that Roman foreign policy was becoming more corrupt and selfish.<sup>78</sup> But at no point, at least in the surviving portions of his *History*, does he do more than explain. He does not try to justify Roman imperialism either on the ethical grounds of their superiority to other peoples or on the practical grounds that empire was necessary or advantageous to them.<sup>79</sup>

It is perhaps no accident that during Polybius' formative years at Rome there was apparently a clear policy of avoidance of annexation.<sup>80</sup> From 197 B.C., when, after the Second Punic War, Rome took over southern and eastern Spain, until 148 and 146 B.C., when she took direct charge of Macedon and Africa, no new provinces were acquired. Defeated countries were left, under what seemed adequate controls, to their own governments.<sup>81</sup> During this period, the thoughtful Romans with whom Polybius associated may not have sought justification for Roman imperialism because they did not conceive of her position as imperialistic.<sup>82</sup> In Italy, she had the hegemony of a loose organization of peoples largely of cognate race; abroad she ruled only where rule had been forced upon her and intervened elsewhere only to maintain a balance of power favorable to herself.

## VII

Between the death of Polybius about 120 B.C. and the emergence of Cicero as a political figure in 70 B.C., Rome's position changed fundamentally.<sup>83</sup> The aristocratic city-state government so admired by Polybius was subject to severe attack on the one hand because of the insurgence of the popular assemblies, led first by the idealistic Gracchi and later by their demagogic successors, and on the other because ambitious generals tried to free themselves from senatorial control.<sup>84</sup> Both groups sought in particular to wrest the direction of foreign policy from the senate; the demagogues wanted to use provincial revenues for the benefit of the populace, the generals desired to achieve for themselves the glory and profit of conquest.<sup>85</sup> The result was that Rome's role in Mediterranean politics became selfishly and nakedly imperialistic.



Precisely at the opening of this period, in the middle of the second century B.C., Greek philosophers established themselves in Rome in the face of the opposition of old-fashioned people like Cato to the new-fangled learning.<sup>86</sup> Unlike Polybius, these philosophers apparently advanced abstract justifications for Rome's imperialism. The scanty fragments of the contemporary literature show no trace of such speculation.<sup>87</sup> There is good reason, however, for believing that the debate between Philus and Laelius preserved in the fragments of the third book of Cicero's treatise *On the Commonwealth*, though written in the fifties of the first century B.C., represents views advanced respectively by Carneades the Sceptic, who came to Rome as one of three ambassadors from Athens in 156 B.C., and of Panaetius the Stoic, who joined the household of Scipio Aemilianus a decade thereafter.<sup>88</sup> Philus, presumably reproducing Carneades, argued along the lines of Thrasymachus in Plato's *Republic* that government could not be conducted without injustice.<sup>89</sup> Laelius countered with a defense of justice in the ruler which must go back to Panaetius and to Poseidonius, his successor as head of the Stoic School under whom Cicero himself studied in Rhodes.<sup>90</sup> The later Stoic argument was based on the assumption that men differ in native ability; an assumption which derived from Aristotle's defense of the "natural slave" and from the view, already mentioned, that civilized, namely, Hellenized, men, should rule over uncivilized or barbarian men.<sup>91</sup> These Stoics claimed, as had Plato, that the ruler should possess wisdom and virtue, that he should rule justly, that is, in accordance with the law and reason inherent in all nature, and that he should rule for the benefit of the ruled.<sup>92</sup> Thus the justification of imperialism by natural superiority, explicitly of culture but also implicitly of race, is joined to the missionary concept that the ruler should improve the lot of the ruled.

Cicero's political activity lasted from 70 to his death in 43 B.C. He devoted much attention before the courts, the assemblies, and the senate to problems connected with Rome's provinces.<sup>93</sup> In these speeches, he naturally emphasized the concrete advantages of the empire to Rome, which might be endangered, for example, by the misdeeds of a Verres, or promoted by the appointment of Pompey to

recover the provinces lost to Mithridates, or undermined by the ambitious intrigues of Caesar to get control of Egypt.<sup>94</sup> But Cicero had little to say about the fundamental issues at stake; the relation of the provinces to the central government, the theoretical justification for Rome's rule, and the like.

Even in his philosophical and rhetorical treatises, Cicero was primarily concerned with the traditional politics, ethics, and education suited to the orthodox theory of the self-contained and sovereign city-state.<sup>95</sup> Only in his treatise *On the Commonwealth*, as already indicated, does he show some consciousness of Rome's imperial obligations.<sup>96</sup> He there supports the Stoic view that Rome's right to rule depended on the moral character of her constitution and of its leaders, which mutually tended to produce each other.<sup>97</sup> Rome, he says, had gained her empire by defending the interests of her allies.<sup>98</sup> She retained it because her citizens were best fitted to rule and it was advantageous for others, the weaker, to be ruled.<sup>99</sup> For this reason it would not become her to be at once a governor and a taker of profits.<sup>100</sup> And Romans should be conscious that however great their achievements seemed to themselves, yet in comparison with the wide-flung universe or even the inhabited earth, their empire was relatively slight and transitory.<sup>101</sup> Cicero's belief in Rome, to borrow the title of a study by the German scholar Vogt, was tempered in his pro-founder moments by a consciousness that man and his works are mortal and that only the divine spirit which sustains the universe is eternal.<sup>102</sup>

Caesar, with his intensely practical approach to the problems of empire, did not worry in his *Commentaries* on the Gallic and Civil Wars about justifying Rome's rule; it sufficed if he could justify his extension of that rule, which was really undertaken more in his own than in Rome's interest.<sup>103</sup> Yet the ecumenical concept of the empire which, as sole arbiter of Rome, he prematurely attempted to realize came in the end to be its justification. The personality and aims of Caesar have been as much disputed as have those of Alexander. He does appear, like Alexander, to have conceived of an empire in which all races would be treated alike, in which ability would be the only test of superiority, and in which everybody would be equally

subject to a single will.<sup>104</sup> The Ides of March, 44 B.C., proved that he was ahead of his time and that the ingrained prejudices in favor of the traditional aristocratic constitution controlled by the senate and of the right of the Romano-Italic people who had conquered the empire to govern it could not easily be set aside.<sup>105</sup>

### VIII

Augustus learned well the lesson of the Ides of March. His final settlement of the century of internal conflict which Rome's external expansion had caused was a compromise. Whether sincerely or not, he "restored the Republic"; that is, he perpetuated the traditional constitution dominated by the senate. He likewise preserved the favored status of the Romano-Italic people, the Roman citizens.<sup>106</sup> But he secured for himself powers which gave him effective control of Rome's armies and of her foreign policy. From the point of view of this discussion, moreover, he put an end to the imperialistic expansion of Rome.<sup>107</sup> It is true that the tradition that a veritable Roman leader should constantly endeavor to extend the sway of Rome remained vivid at least until the time of Trajan and was not forgotten thereafter.<sup>108</sup> In fact, however, the frontiers established by Augustus remained in their major lines those of the empire until its collapse.<sup>109</sup> Thus with Augustus ends the consideration of ancient imperialism in the sense of this discussion. Thereafter "empire," the Latin *imperium*, began to take on the sense of "an imperial system of government" which it was to retain until modern times.<sup>110</sup>

Yet Augustus himself did not assume the title of king or emperor; he remained "first citizen," *princeps*, the moderator of the affairs of state in the sense advocated by Cicero in the fifth book of his treatise *On the Commonwealth*.<sup>111</sup> His control depended not on specific overweening powers but on his influence over others, his *auctoritas*, a concept in Latin more informal and psychological than the modern legalistic word "authority."<sup>112</sup> To heighten this *auctoritas*, he resorted to various devices, such as surrounding himself with an aura of divine sanction.<sup>113</sup> He also presented himself as the fulfiller and restorer of Rome's victorious destiny.<sup>114</sup> Hence Augustan literature is full of the

mighty achievements of Rome's conquering past and of Augustus' even greater extensions of Roman sway.<sup>115</sup> Coupled with these themes, emphasis is placed on the pre-destined and just character of Rome's rule, in consequence of the favor of the gods and the virtues of the Romans, and more particularly of Augustus.<sup>116</sup>

In the surviving books of Livy's *History of Rome since the Foundation*, stress is laid on the historical inevitability of Rome's expansion, under divine guidance and thanks to the character of her citizens, rather than on any philosophical justification for her rule.<sup>117</sup> Only once, in connection with Hannibal's failure when he invaded Campania to detach Rome's allies, does Livy echo the Stoic justification. He then says that the cities did not desert Rome "because they were ruled justly and moderately and did not refuse to obey their betters, which is the best bond of loyalty."<sup>118</sup>

The Augustan poets provide rich material for justification of the empire, which has been fully and topically analyzed in a treatise by the German scholar F. Christ.<sup>119</sup> For the present discussion, it must suffice to cite Virgil. The *Aeneid* is the poetic parallel to Livy's prose *History*. It symbolizes Rome's achievement of her destiny under divine favor in the allegorical myth of how the pious Aeneas triumphed over the many obstacles put in his way and fulfilled his destiny to found Rome.<sup>120</sup> The familiar lines in which Anchises described for his son Aeneas the mission of Rome express both a sense of the superiority of Romans to others and a realization that their function was not, as was that of the Greeks, to civilize but to provide the framework of just and peaceful government in which civilization would be possible. "Others" says Anchises, meaning the Greeks, "will, I believe, carve bronze more gracefully into breathing forms or draw living features from marble. They will be better pleaders and will mark out the course of the heavens with their pointer and name the rising stars. Do thou, O Roman, remember to rule the peoples under thy power — these will be thy arts — and to impose the habit of peace; to spare the conquered and fight down the proud."<sup>121</sup> These lines nobly express an imperial mission, but the imperialism is the new Augustan imperialism of governing, not the traditional Roman imperialism of conquest and expansion.



The two centuries which followed Augustus witnessed a gradual extension of Roman citizenship and of membership in the senate to non-Roman provincials.<sup>122</sup> In consequence, the preferred position of the Romano-Italic people was lost and the senate became an upper class, still primarily based on heredity but also open to merit wherever found, and increasingly representative of the empire as a whole rather than simply of Italy.<sup>123</sup> Hence even that element of the traditional justification for Roman imperialism which survived Augustus, the superiority of the Roman people over others, lost its validity; or, rather, Rome gathered unto herself all peoples within the empire so that the city, the *Urbs*, became coterminous with the civilized world, the *Orbis*.<sup>124</sup> Outside this charmed circle were only uncivilized barbarians.<sup>125</sup>

Midway in this development, around 100 A.D., stand Tacitus and Pliny. Both recognized that the old Republic and its conquests were no longer possible and accepted the monarchical empire. But Tacitus looked back nostalgically to the past and regarded his contemporaries as degenerate in vigor and virtue.<sup>126</sup> Pliny, though still proud of the Roman traditions, was far more a herald of the future. He recognized the ecumenical character of the empire and admitted the merits of monarchical government. He felt that a good emperor like Trajan fulfilled the Stoic ideal of the just ruler who governs for the sake of the governed in accordance with universal reason and law.<sup>127</sup>

## IX

It lies outside the scope of the present discussion to trace further in Roman literature this ecumenical concept which the Roman empire inherited from Alexander and the Persians, or to review its effect on later political and ecclesiastical thought.<sup>128</sup> Nor is there time to examine what slight evidence survives of contemporary scepticism concerning the merits of Roman imperialism, whether in the form of territorial expansion or of ecumenical government.<sup>129</sup> Nor, finally, is this the place to speculate on the parallel between the shift in the concept of Roman imperialism which occurred as between the great expansionist, Pompey, and the founder of the ecumenical empire, Augustus, and the similar shift between Disraeli and the present



British Commonwealth of Nations, which now includes even the Dominions of Pakistan and India.<sup>130</sup>

A survey of contemporary justifications for ancient imperialism has shown the triumph of moral over material considerations. The imposition of the rule of one people over others in antiquity originated from the same motives as it has in recent history, namely the atavistic urge towards conquest, greed, a sense of superiority, or missionary zeal. Then, as now, justifications for imperialism ranged the full gamut from "might makes right" to Lord Rosebery's description of the British Empire as "the greatest secular agency for good the world has ever seen."<sup>131</sup> But in the end that justification prevailed in Persia, in Greece, and in Rome which assigned rule to merit, that is, to wisdom and virtue, and which required that it be just, that is, in accordance with the fundamental principles of equity and for the benefit of the governed. Not without reason did the last pagan poet of Rome, Rutilius Namatianus, who had seen Alaric's Goths sack the Eternal City in 410 A.D., still proclaim his continued faith in her by exclaiming: "that thou dost rule is less significant than that thou dost deserve to rule": *Quod regnas minus est quam quod regnare mereris*.<sup>132</sup>

It is tempting to conclude on this note and to draw therefrom a moral for the present. But the moral will not hold. To be sure, the Athenian empire went down in ruin because it was blatantly selfish and oppressive. Yet once Alexander died, his high ideals did not perpetuate the ecumenical state for which he strove.<sup>133</sup> Persia, on the contrary, controlled her conquests for more than two centuries. But when her initial expansion ceased, her strength slowly failed and Alexander had but to push her imposing façade to have it crumble.<sup>134</sup> The Romans extended their sway over the Mediterranean world during two centuries and Augustus laid the foundations of an ecumenical state which endured, however much its character changed, for five centuries longer in the west and for nearly fifteen in the east.<sup>135</sup> But the western Roman empire, like the Persian, decayed from within and required only concerted pressure from without for its final dissolution. In the eastern empire, changes, though gradual, were so much more significant than continuity that the Byzantine

state may be regarded as a new political phenomenon.<sup>136</sup> The triumph of the moral over other justifications for rule is, indeed, of great significance both for political theory and for political practice. But it cannot be maintained that the moral character of the empires of the Persians, of Alexander, or of the Romans constituted a major factor in determining their permanence or impermanence.

It was remarked above that Greek and Roman political theorists failed to escape from the domination of the orthodox theory of the city-state, with its doctrine that all citizens must be able to participate directly in public affairs both as members of the assemblies and by holding office in turn.<sup>137</sup> During the Hellenistic period, federation and representation were tried but failed to hold their own.<sup>138</sup> Practically, therefore, the solution to the problem of integrating areas larger than the city-state was confined to monarchy, the rule of the single will, whether as king of a national state or emperor of an ecumenical union of peoples. Monarchy was, to be sure, acceptable only when it shunned absolutism, or tyranny, and at least ostensibly justified itself on the moral grounds which have already been indicated. Even so, sooner or later ecumenical monarchy failed because it sacrificed an essential characteristic of the city-state. However much the rule of an Alexander or an Augustus or their successors expressed the will and desires of their subjects, it was not responsible to that will; their sovereignty did not derive from the people, despite the quibbles of the Roman lawyers.<sup>139</sup> It was basically self-created and self-perpetuating, though at times this fact might be concealed by invoking divine authority.<sup>140</sup> Ultimately, therefore, the ruler, however well-meaning, came to be set over against the subjects and to regard the perpetuation of rule as the prime end to which all other considerations, including the benefit of the governed, must be sacrificed.<sup>141</sup> Ancient imperialism, whether in the form of the dominance of one people over another or in the form of an ecumenical monarchy, teaches a far more profound lesson than that an empire to endure must conform itself to standards set by some moral justification. This lesson is that government must never cease to be not only for the people but, even more than this, of and by the people. And the problem which ancient imperialism poses to the modern world is not that

of creating a world state; the Persians and Alexander showed that this could be done, while Augustus founded one whose endurance still challenges the imagination of mankind. Rather, the problem is to combine the surrender of sovereignty to a world state with the preservation of responsibility to the will not merely of the people, but of many peoples, each eager to protect its own economic, social, political, and cultural integrity.<sup>142</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This paper was given as the first of six Marshall Woods Lectures at Brown University on "Imperialism." It is printed here substantially as it was delivered on October 1, 1947, under the auspices of Professor C. A. Robinson. The criticisms and suggestions of Professor Robinson, of Professor W. S. Ferguson, and of the Editors of these *Studies* have been of great assistance in the revision for publication. The brevity necessary for a lecture has relegated many points to rather lengthy notes. The full title of works referred to in the notes will be given when they are first cited. Thereafter the author's name only will appear, with a cross reference to the note in which the work was initially cited. In a few instances the full title will be given later than the first citation, at a point where the work in question is particularly apposite.

<sup>2</sup> The definitions of "imperialist" and "imperialism" are taken from the *New English Dictionary* V (I-K, 1901) 86. "Imperialist" is cited first in 1603 for a supporter of the Holy Roman Empire and in 1800 for one of Napoleon. "Imperialism" for an imperial system of government is first cited in 1858 and dubiously for the extension of empire in 1881. But the clear instances for this second meaning given by the *NED* run from 1895 to 1899 and "imperialist" as a supporter of expansionist "imperialism" is first cited in 1899. The *NED* confines the expansionist meaning to the British Empire and adds "and of . . . uniting the different parts of empire." It connects this meaning with Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield).

<sup>3</sup> The best general discussion of the various meanings of "Imperialismus" is the article by Othmar Spann in the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaft* V (ed. 4, Jena, Fisher, 1923) 383-385. He points out that the term has no clearly defined meaning and has become a political catchword rather than a "scientific" term. See also M. J. Bonn's article on "Imperialism" in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* III (New York, Macmillan, 1932) 605-613, who deals chiefly with modern imperialism, and H. Kohn's article on "Imperialism" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* XII (ed. 14, Chicago, New York, Toronto, 1946) 122-122B, who gives a brief historical résumé before treating modern imperialism.

\* Capelle, (n. 88) 111 n. 1, cites F. Salomon's preface to his *Der Britische Imperialismus* (ed. 2, Leipzig, 1927) for the difference between ancient and modern imperialism; see also Hasebroek (n. 8) 1-6. Capelle points out that there are, nevertheless, fundamental parallels between the historical phenomena of national life in Athens during the fifth century B.C., Rome during the second century B.C., and Europe during the nineteenth century which justify applying the modern term to the political or economic expansion of an ancient people beyond its natural limits and to the imposition of the rule of one ancient people upon others. Throughout this discussion the term "people" will be used for a politically united and racially relatively homogeneous state, to avoid the question whether the concept of "nation" may properly be applied to classical states or races. Naturally several distinct states or peoples may be racially relatively homogeneous, as in Greece (see above p. 112 for Pan-Hellenism), or in Italy before the extension of Roman citizenship in 88 B.C. in consequence of the Social War. The Earl of Cromer's (Evelyn Baring) *Ancient and Modern Imperialisms* (New York, Longmans, 1910) is still stimulating, particularly in his remarks, pp. 124-127, on the problem of reconciling imperialism with the introduction to subject peoples of democratic institutions (see below, n. 130 on India).

<sup>5</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism* (Boston, New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1913) 2-6. He holds that the relation of superior to inferior is essential to any empire but may be either that of one people to others or of ruler to subjects.

<sup>6</sup> J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study*. The third edition (London, Allen & Unwin, 1938) has been consulted for this paper.

<sup>7</sup> Hobson's (n. 6) preface of 1938, pp. v-vi. Though admitting such other motives as power, pride, prestige, and prevailing sentiments, Hobson in this preface reaffirms his belief that "trade follows the flag." On p. 6, he conceives that "the novelty of recent Imperialism regarded as a policy consists chiefly in its adoption by several nations" and says that in contrast "the root idea of empire in the ancient and mediaeval world was that of a federation of states under a hegemony, covering in general terms the entire known recognized world, such as was held by Rome under the so-called *pax Romana*." He devotes a page to the concept of universal (ecumenical, below n. 63) empire as realized by Rome and inherited by the Middle Ages but otherwise devotes no further attention to imperialism in any meaning before the French Revolution until his last chapter. Then, pp. 365-367, he compares British imperialism to the Roman Empire in respect to the rise of a capitalist class and the loss of a healthy peasantry (see below, n. 85, on the Gracchi), and the decay of the ability of the aristocracy to govern the empire (see below, n. 15). For the conflict of motives in British imperialism, see also Cromer (n. 4) 118-119. Such an arch imperialist as Cecil Rhodes exhibited a blend of idealism, patriotism, and selfishness which has led to the most diverse interpretations of his character, his relation to his times, and his ultimate objectives.



<sup>8</sup> An extreme, if not false, economic interpretation of Athenian imperialism at the time of the Peloponnesian War is F. M. Cornford's *Thucydides Mythistoricus* (London, Arnold, 1907). Tenney Frank, *Roman Imperialism* (New York, Macmillan, 1914), denies that Rome was basically imperialistic until the provinces began to provide great opportunities for private investment after 133 B.C. through the taking of tax contracts and the lending of money. J. Hasebroek, in a speech on *Der Imperialistische Gedanke im Altertum* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1926), argues that ancient imperialism was not economic in the modern sense of the endeavor to capture wider markets and fields for investment. He holds that throughout there were two motives: the feeling that the strong should rule, and the feeling that the state should provide for the support of its citizens. These motives may be equated with the atavistic urge to conquer and the selfishness of the populace. On page 6, he identifies the atavistic urge to conquer with the justification that rule is the right of the stronger (above p. 111, and nn. 39, 131) and denies any moral principle of ideal justice; contrast Capelle's (n. 88) argument on behalf of the moral justification of rule.

<sup>9</sup> W. L. Langer, "A Critique of Imperialism," *Foreign Affairs* XIV (1935) 102-119, especially p. 108. Langer shows that the economic advantages supposed by Hobson to arise from imperialism do not in fact do so. Investments in the subject areas do not necessarily increase and frequently prove unprofitable. Nor do monopolies, trusts, and cartels develop more readily in imperialistic than in nonimperialistic countries. New colonies often provide new markets for world production rather than for the home country and in time such colonies develop their own industries to challenge those at home. Hobson might reply that even though the desired economic advantages do not arise, the expectation that they will suffices to justify his motivation for imperialism. A critique similar to Langer's might be applied to the predecessor of imperialism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, "mercantilism," a policy which sought to develop national power by control of economic resources, particularly of trade. E. F. Hecker concludes his article on "Mercantilism" in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* X (New York, Macmillan, 1933) 333-339 thus: "Generally it may be said that mercantilism is of greater interest for what it attempted than for what it achieved."

<sup>10</sup> Hobson (n. 6) 101: "The government of the propertied classes . . . are no longer seriously frightened by the power of the people as implied by a popular franchise . . . 'Panem et circenses' interpreted into English means cheap booze and Mafficking. Popular education, instead of serving as a defense, is an incitement towards Imperialism; it has opened up a panorama of vulgar pride and crude sensationalism to a great inert mass who see current history and the tangled mass of world events with dim, bewildered eyes and are the inevitable dupes of the able and organized interests who can lure, or scare, or drive them into any convenient course." Anyone familiar with Thucydides' account of Cleon (see above, p. 110) or Cicero's attacks on Clodius and



Caesar will realize the applicability of this passage to Greek and Roman history. *Panem et circenses* is part of Juvenal's criticism of the Roman mob under the empire for its lack of public spirit, *Sat. X*, esp. line 81. See Hasebroek (n. 8) 11-21.

<sup>11</sup> Hobson (n. 6) 153-160; Langer (n. 9) 109.

<sup>12</sup> See the quotation from Lord Rosebery above, p. 123, and n. 131 from Hobson (n. 6) 160. Moslem imperialism was largely religious in inspiration; British imperialism has often been begun by missionaries and carried on by persons who sincerely accepted their rule over other races as Kipling's "white man's burden."

<sup>13</sup> Langer, (n. 9) 109, cites Josef Schumpeter, *Zur Sociologie der Imperialismen* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1919), and continues: "Conquests are desired not so much because of their advantages, which are often questionable, but merely for the sake of conquest, success and activity."

<sup>14</sup> Ferguson (n. 5) 1.

<sup>15</sup> Hobson, (n. 6) 365-367 (see above n. 7 at end), is perhaps wrong in comparing the Roman and British aristocracies as imperialistic phenomena. Aristocracies in the ancient world were primarily composed of landowners, and tended to be anti-imperialistic. In Athens, though the aristocratic leader Cimon in the mid-fifth century pursued an expansionist policy, the conservatives later opposed the Periclean empire. Sparta was anti-imperialistic except when some king or general took matters into his own hands and he generally was recalled for discipline by the home authorities. The Roman senate of the republic was consistently opposed to the extension of her sway by such commanders as the Scipios, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar. The British Tories and the Prussian Junkers apparently took the same line. The agricultural Middle West of the United States has been generally "isolationist" in the past. In Rome of the first century B.C. there was an aristocracy of financiers, the equestrians, who, like the British merchant class, opposed the conservative senate and supported Pompey and Caesar, Frank (n. 8) 227-328, 357-358. Augustus saw to it that the equestrians were brought into line by seriously curtailing and controlling the practice of having provincial taxes gathered by private bankers under government contract and by working the equestrians into his administration and making the class a feeder for the senatorial order; see A. Stein, *Der Römische Ritterstand* (Munich, C. H. Beck'sche VBH., 1927) ch. IV, pp. 195-363: "Aufstieg in den Senatorenstand." It may be doubted whether in Periclean Athens there was any large group of wealthy merchants or bankers whose interest was imperialistic; his support came directly from the populace, the small traders, artisans, sailors, and others who got jobs as a result of the empire, above p. 109; Hasebroek (n. 8) 7-8.

<sup>16</sup> The growth of the world empires of the Near East is briefly described by M. Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World I*: "The Orient and Greece" (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926) 151-156.

<sup>11</sup> Rostovtzeff (n. 16) 151, who continues, "this reform was never completed by Persia."

<sup>12</sup> Rostovtzeff (n. 16) 153. Xerxes' host in 480 B.C. as described by Herodotus, VII 61-99, illustrates how diversity was allowed even in the army; see the summary in J. A. K. Thomson, *Greeks and Barbarians* (Unwin, London, and New York, Macmillan, 1921) 33-37. The army with which Darius opposed Alexander a century and a half later was equally diverse, Robinson (n. 49) 125-126.

<sup>13</sup> Rostovtzeff (n. 16) 156; A. Moret, *Histoire de l'Orient* II: "Les Empires" (*Histoire Générale, Histoire Ancienne*, première partie, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1936) 722, 764-765; G. B. Gray in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, University Press) IV (1926) 2, who contrasts the fact that the Persian Empire lasted for two centuries under one dynasty, the Achaemenid (he regards Darius as a true Achaemenid, pp. 5, 174), whereas that of Alexander fell apart at his death. The general articles on imperialism cited above in n. 3 begin the concept of an ecumenical or universal empire with Alexander.

<sup>20</sup> E. Meyer, in his *Geschichte des Alterthums* III "Das Perserreich und die Griechen usw." (ed. 2, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cotta'sche BH., 1912), 93-95, emphasizes the religious tolerance shown by the Achaemenids despite their convinced Mazdaism. The "missionary" interpretation of the expansion of Persia was advanced by Professor J. L. Myres in lectures at Oxford about 1927. The statements in the text are adapted from his Frazer Lecture on *Mediterranean Culture* (Cambridge, University Press, 1943) 45-46; see also his George Slocum Bennett Lectures at Wesleyan University on *The Political Ideas of the Greeks* (New York, Cincinnati, Abington Press, 1927) 336. Herodotus regarded the Persian "imperialistic urge" as a ruinous passion, *ὕβρις*, Cochrane (n. 110) 466-467. The date of Zoroaster is much disputed; Moret, (n. 19) 711, places him in the seventh century B.C., while Gray, (n. 19) 205, puts him as early as 1000 B.C.

<sup>21</sup> Moret (n. 19) 765-769; Gray (n. 19) 205-211. For the concept of the Persian King as "animate law," see E. R. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship," *Yale Classical Studies* I (1928) 78-79. Goodenough points out that the Egyptian Pharaohs were similarly thought to be a source of law because they partook of divine inspiration. Near-eastern concepts of divine kingship have recently been discussed in a volume of essays edited by H. and H. A. Frankfort, entitled *The Intellectual Achievement of Ancient Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948) and in H. Frankfort's *Kingship and the Gods, etc.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948); see also the review article by T. H. Gaster on "Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East" in *A Review of Religions* IX. (1944-1945) 267-281.

<sup>22</sup> Ferguson, (n. 5) 6-19, in his first chapter describes the rise of the city-states and the incompatibility of imperialism with the concept thereof; see

below (n. 63). For federation in Greece generally, see the brief but stimulating remarks of E. Barker in *Cambridge Ancient History* VI (1927) 506-509; see also C. A. Robinson's chapter on "Federal Unions" in *The Greek Political Experience etc.* by A. C. Johnson and others (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1948) 93-108. Besides the works cited in his bibliography on pp. 228-229, the article by J. A. O. Larsen on "Representative Government in the Panhellenic Leagues," in *Classical Philology* XX (1925) 313-329, XXI (1926) 52-71, draws interesting conclusions on pp. 69-71 concerning the beginning in these leagues during the fourth century B.C. of a representative federal organization and suggests possible reasons why Alexander did not perpetuate this; namely, because a Panhellenic league would leave no room for the inclusion of other peoples, see below, n. 62, and because, with the difficulty of communications, a federal league would be limited to the Aegean area and could not effectively include the new foundations in Asia. Compare also the references below in n. 138. For Sparta's hegemony of Greece in the sixth century B.C., see H. T. Wade-Gery in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III (1925) 537-538, 557-569, and Adcock's remarks in vol. IV (1926) 71-75. Wade-Gery, p. 538, says of Tyrtaeus' (c. 600 B.C.) poem on the first conquest of Messene that he "does not disguise the motive, it was the acres of arable orchard and vineyard, that Sparta desired." For the relevant fragment, see E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* I (ed. 2, Leipzig, Berlin, Teubner, 1936) 13. For Athens' "synoecismus" of Attica, see E. A. Gardner and M. Cary in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III (1925) 577-580; for Athenian expansion under the Peisistratid tyrants during the second half of the sixth century B.C., see F. E. Adcock in vol. IV (1926) 61, 69-70, who maintains that the motive was not economic (commercial), as often argued, but protective. For Thebes' hegemony of the Boeotian League, see M. Cary in vol. III 608-609. Sir Alfred Zimmern, on pp. 6-7 of an article entitled "Athens and America" in the *Classical Journal* XLIII (1947) 3-11, calls attention to the Amphictyonic League as an embryo Panhellenic confederacy in sixth-century Greece; one which, however, failed.

<sup>23</sup> For the development of the Delian League and its conversion into an Athenian empire, see the brief remarks of A. J. Toynbee in *A Study of History* (abridgment by D. C. Somervell, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1947) 297. Zimmern, (n. 22) 7-9, summarizes briefly the rise and failure of the Athenian empire, and, among the many historical treatments thereof, his *The Greek Commonwealth* (ed. 5 rev., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1931) 180-197 gives an account which is lively if perhaps over optimistic in his interpretation of Athenian motives. On p. 433, he contrasts Pericles in his great years as "the champion of the Free Sea and Free Intercourse, who had been warning Athens for a generation against the dangers of aggrandizement" and Pericles of the last speech reported by Thucydides, I 60-64, where he "was the first to preach to her the fatal doctrine of Universal Sea-power," a doctrine taken up by Cleon and others, who "set their course by expediency and interest alone."



This rosy view of the early Pericles does not accord with his attempt between 454 and 446 B.C. to build up a land empire, an attempt ended by the so-called Thirty Years' Peace with Sparta, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* V (1927) 90-91. Ferguson, (n. 5) 39-41, thinks that Themistocles laid the foundations of the Athenian Empire but that the real impulse to expansion came from the new self-confidence of the victorious Athenian populace themselves, not from their statesmen. On pp. 65-78, he sees Pericles as an imperialist from the beginning in that he made the subject allies pay for the Athenian "nation of noblemen." B. D. Meritt, in his chapter on "Athens and the Delian League" in *The Greek Political Experience* (n. 22) 52-54, traces the conversion of the League into an empire to the period of the transfer of the treasury to Athens and hence directly to Pericles; his whole discussion, by one who has made the authoritative study of the inscriptions which preserve the quota of the tribute dedicated to Athena, is excellent. This is not the place to debate whether an outstanding statesman creates his popular support or is a product of a basic popular urge, which he formulates and attempts to realize. It is at least arguable that the first-class statesman, whether good or evil, leads by sowing his concepts in the popular mind, and that only second-raters (the politicians ?) run with the herd, wherever its vagaries direct.

<sup>24</sup> *Cam. Anc. Hist.* V (1927) 84.

<sup>25</sup> The opinions of the Athenian Empire expressed by Greek authors of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. are collected by Hermann Rohde, *De Atheniensium Imperio quid quinto quartove a. Chr. n. saeculo sit iudicatum* (Diss. Gött., Göttingen, Dieterich, 1913). He devotes only twelve out of ninety-eight pages to the period before the Peloponnesian War, most of which are general. He cites none of the three tragedians or Aristophanes, but does (p. 12) argue from Herodotus VII 139 1 that this historian thought that Athens' worth in the Persian Wars justified her hegemony. However, Rohde admits that we cannot know what Herodotus thought of the Empire.

<sup>26</sup> Thuc. II 34-46, translated with comment by Zimmern, *Gr. Com.* (n. 23) 198-209. Cf. Zimmern's essay on "Thucydides the Imperialist" in his *Solon and Croesus and Other Greek Essays* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1928) 81-104. There has recently appeared a detailed discussion of Thucydides' views on Athenian imperialism, a copy of which was kindly loaned for consultation by Professor J. H. Finley: J. de Romilly, *Thucydide et l'Impérialisme Athénien: la pensée de l'historien et la genèse de l'oeuvre* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1947). Mlle. de Romilly regards Athenian imperialism as the central theme of the war for Thucydides (p. 52). While Thucydides presents practical arguments for and against the Athenian empire, his judgments are political, not moral (pp. 89-91). He admired the moderate imperialism of Pericles, guided as it was by outstanding political wisdom (p. 136), and he found its antecedents in Themistocles rather than in Cimon (pp. 154, 196-200; see above, n. 23, for Ferguson's view of Themistocles as founder of Athenian imperialism). He condemned the

overreaching imperialism of Cleon (pp. 166-167) and of Alcibiades (pp. 191-195). Mlle. de Romilly derives for Thucydides three "laws" which governed the rise and fall of Athenian imperialism (pp. 260-285, summarized pp. 284-285): politically, imperialism was imposed on Athens by the necessity of maintaining her position; psychologically, imperialism, unless controlled by wisdom, induced an appetite for more which became "hybris" (see also pp. 71-72, 200); and, philosophically, the rule of the stronger is a basic principle in human relations. The events of 404 B.C. did not alter Thucydides' fundamental position but only intensified his admiration for Pericles and his condemnation of his successors (pp. 286-293). Thucydides failed to offer any solution for the downfall of Athens; only in the fourth century were such solutions offered politically by Isocrates in the form of Panhellenism (see also pp. 266-268 and below, nn. 46, 49), perhaps on the basis of a knowledge of Thucydides' work, and philosophically by Plato in his ideal state, which appears to be independent of Thucydides (pp. 297-305). Thucydides apparently had no intellectual contact with Socrates and his moral approach to politics (pp. 304-305); the historian affords only a realistic interpretation of politics which is parallel to that of those Sophists like Callicles and Thrasymachus in Plato (below, n. 39) who were frankly pragmatic (pp. 251-256, 305). On pp. 116-124, 128-130, de Romilly analyzes the Funeral Oration, see below, n. 29. She gives on pp. 118-121 interesting parallels from Euripides for its thought; see also p. 98 for the political character of the plays of both Euripides and Aristophanes.

<sup>27</sup> Paraphrased from Zimmaern, *Gr. Com.* (n. 23) 196-197. Cf. Thomson (n. 18) 82-104 for the contrast between Greek freedom and Persian absolutism; also Myres, *Political Ideas* (n. 20) 319-340.

<sup>28</sup> Thuc. II 51-53; compare his remarks on the bitter passions released by the Corcyrean Revolt, III 82-84.

<sup>29</sup> Thuc. II 60-64. Professor W. C. Greene called attention to the significance of this speech, and especially of c. 64. de Romilly, (n. 26) 136, concludes that there is no fundamental change throughout the speeches attributed to Pericles by Thucydides. His first speech, I 140-145, the short summary in II 13, and this final speech set forth the political and military measures necessary for the survival of Athens, while the Funeral Oration, II 34-46, gives the political and intellectual justification for Athenian imperialism, with particular reference to the criticisms of the pro-Spartan party. All the speeches, in her opinion, are consistent with the favorable judgment passed on Pericles in II 65 (pp. 99-100). See generally her discussion of Pericles, pp. 99-136; also pp. 27-30 for the first speech. She would not, therefore, recognize any hardening of Pericles' attitude in this last speech.

<sup>30</sup> de Romilly, (n. 26) 62-76, recognizes that Athenian imperialism rested on sea-power and the control of the islands and argues that its primary motive was the desire for more (see pp. 71-72, 200) and particularly the desire of the masses to be supported by the empire. She does not regard conscious economic motives,



particularly the need to assure the grain supply (see below n. 40), as important. She concludes (p. 76): "il ne reste que l'image précise d'une politique nationale, fondée sur la thalassocratie, et cherchant sa satisfaction dans le sentiment même de la domination; et celle-ci se dresse comme une force simple menaçant la Grèce"; this is almost Langer's atavistic, irrational disposition towards conquest (above n. 13). The quotation that the Athenian rule was a tyranny is from Thuc. II 63; the themes are taken up by Cleon and Alcibiades, below, nn. 34-36. de Romilly, (n. 26) 111-113, cites interesting parallels for this concept of the empire as a tyranny: the Corinthians in I 122 3; Cleon again in III 37 2 (see also pp. 143-146); Euphemus in VI 85 1; the "Old Oligarch" (below, n. 40) I 14; Aristophanes *Knights* 1114; Plutarch *Pericles* 12 2. See below, n. 42.

<sup>31</sup> Thuc. II 65; Ferguson (n. 5) 75-76. Pericles was fined but his policy was adopted and he was elected general again for the following year, 429 B.C., during which he died. Thucydides draws a strong contrast between the moderate, patriotic, and intelligent policy of Pericles and the self-seeking and overreaching projects of his successors, which culminated in the ruinous expedition to Sicily and the final downfall of Athens; see de Romilly (n. 26) part II pp. 97-200 throughout.

<sup>32</sup> See Hasebroek (n. 8) 6. W. Nestle, "Politik und Moral im Altertum," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Altertum usw.* XLI/XLII (1918) 225-244, discusses the ways in which ancient thinkers sought to relate ethics to politics, a problem which arose for them not so much within the state as in the relationships between states, p. 243. He concludes, with Hasebroek (n. 8), that despite Plato, Aristotle, and the Middle Stoa, the effective view was that altruism had no part in international relations and that the natural rule of the prevalence of the stronger, the view of the Sophists, Cynics, and Sceptics, was the most effective. Nestle wrote under the impact of World War I, see pp. 243-244. Contrast Capelle (n. 88). Both refer to H. von Arnim's *Frankfurter Universitätsrede* (1916) entitled "Gerechtigkeit und Nutzen in der griechischen Aufklärungsphilosophie."

<sup>33</sup> Thuc. III 37-40; see de Romilly (n. 26) 137-149 for a discussion of the Mytilenean Debate. The Mytileneans were saved from wholesale execution by a change of heart at Athens and a reprieve which arrived dramatically just in the nick of time.

<sup>34</sup> Jowett's translation of Cleon's remark in Thuc. III 37 2; for Pericles' similar statement, see above, n. 30. It is worth noting that, as de Romilly points out, (n. 26) 91-92, Thucydides seems to have had no feeling that it was wrong for Greeks to rule Greeks (below, n. 42) or of any contrast in this respect between the rule of Greeks over Greeks and over barbarians (below, n. 48). He shows no Panhellenic sentiment, either in the moderate, Cimonean sense of a joint hegemony by Sparta and Athens (such as is argued for by the Spartans in the debate on the prisoners taken at Pylos, VI 19-20; de Romilly 153-155), or in the later, Isocratean sense (below, n. 46; de Romilly 298-300).

Nor did he regard ethnic or political rivalries as significant causes of the war, as compared to Athenian imperialism *per se* (above, n. 30; de Romilly 76-78).

<sup>35</sup> Thuc. V 85-113. de Romilly, (n. 26) 230-259, regards the Melian Dialogue not as an attack on Athenian imperialism *per se* but on its excess. Its lesson is still that the rule of the stronger is basic to politics (above, n. 26; de Romilly, pp. 250-257). She points out, pp. 257-258, that even Isocrates in his great *apologia* for Athens, the *Panathenaicus*, did not condemn the Athenian treatment of Melos but simply tried to minimize its significance. She also notes, pp. 207-211, that whereas in the debate at Sparta at the beginning of the war, the Athenians laid great emphasis on their right to the hegemony because of their defeat of the Persians, I 73-74, this argument is dismissed as irrelevant in the Melian Dialogue, V 89; see below, n. 42. The Melians summarize the Athenian position in §90 as follows: *παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ ξυμφέρων λέγειν ὑπέθεσθε*. They determined to resist but were overcome and either executed or enslaved. Their island was settled by five hundred Athenians, §116, a fate that has a contemporary ring. Rohde, (n. 25) 93, states that Thucydides consistently makes the Athenians defend their empire on the basis of utility, *τὸ ξυμφέρων*, and never of justice, *τὸ δίκαιον*.

<sup>36</sup> Thuc. VI 18; for the whole debate, cc. 9-26. See the lists of justifications of Athenian imperialism in T. S. Brown, "Greek Influence on Tiberius Gracchus," *Classical Journal* XLII (1947) 472 first column.

<sup>37</sup> That Thucydides admired the imperialism of Pericles but condemned that of Cleon and Alcibiades is the contention of Zimmern in "Thucydides the Imperialist" (n. 26); see Haarhoff (n. 48) 33-34 for Gilbert Murray's view in *Euripides and his Age* (Home Univ. Lib., London, Williams & Norgate; New York, Holt, 1913) 127, that the space devoted to Melos represents Thucydides' condemnation of the pride, *ὑβρις*, of the Athenians; but contrast Hasebroek (n. 8) 6-7 and Nestle (n. 32) 228-229, both of whom think that Thucydides accepted the Athenian policy as a phenomenon inherent in the nature of politics. de Romilly (n. 26), generally takes a similar position, but admits that Thucydides felt that the Athenians failed to limit their desire for more by wisdom and so fell into the destructive error of "hybris"; see pp. 71-72, 200, 263-280; above, n. 30. J. H. Finley, Jr., *Thucydides* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1942) 31, says that Thucydides realized that the dynamic growth of Athens as a thriving metropolis necessitated her maritime power, imperial status, and democratic (that is, popular) control and that this realistic view of power was based on that of the Sophists, see also his p. 35 and below, n. 39. In conversation, Professor Finley suggested that Thucydides, to judge from his condemnation of early Greek particularism in the "Archaeologia," I 2-19, realized the value of at least economic unification and might have favored some sort of federal union under Athenian hegemony (the Delian League in its first form ?) to the empire. Thucydides, VIII 97 2, states that the conservative government of the "five thousand," established in Athens in 411 B.C., was the best constit-

tion that he had known in Athens. Aristotle, about eighty years later, shared this opinion in his *Constitution of Athens* 33 2 (c. 325 B.C.) and, in fact, this constitution approximated what became the orthodox view of the best form of city-state constitution, above, pp. 115, 124.

<sup>38</sup> Finley (n. 37) 31; Capelle (n. 88) 86-93, gives the later descent of the "utilitarian" justification as Sophists > Epicureans > Carneades (Sceptic).

<sup>39</sup> *Rep.* I 338 A—354 C, especially the opening definition by Thrasymachus, 338 C: "I say that justice is nothing else than the advantage of the stronger," *φημι γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος συμφέρον*. de Romilly (n. 26) 251-253, cites the parallel argument of Calicles in the *Gorgias* 483 D and compares both to the Melian Dialogue, Thuc. III 89. She gives good parallels from Euripides, pp. 252-254, and adduces for Thucydides a "philosophical law" that the rule of the stronger is fundamental in human relations, pp. 280-285; see nn. 8, 26. See also *Laws* IV 714 C; below, n. 131; and the suggestive remarks on the whole doctrine by W. W. Jaeger in his chapter on "Praise of Law" in *Interpretations of Modern Legal Philosophies; Essays in honor of Roscoe Pound*, ed. P. L. Sayre (New York, Oxford University Press, 1947) 364-365. For the dramatic date of Plato's *Republic*, 420 B.C., see A. E. Taylor, *Plato, etc.* (New York, The Dial Press, 1929) 263-264.

<sup>40</sup> The "Old Oligarch" is discussed by A. W. Gomme in *Athenian Studies Presented to W. S. Ferguson* (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, supplementary vol. I, 1940) 211-245. He argues for a shift in the traditional date of 424 B.C. to sometime between 420 and 415 B.C. A summary of earlier discussions will be found in W. Schmid und O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (Müller und Otto, *Handbuch der klass. Alt-wiss.* VII) I 3 1 (Munich, Beck'sche VBH, 1940) 149-155. de Romilly (n. 26) 104-105, compares the view of the "Old Oligarch," II 14-16, that the Athenian empire had to be a thalassocracy with the similar view put by Thucydides, I 143 5, in the mouth of Pericles; see above, n. 30, for her denial of the importance of the grain trade in motivating the desire of Athens to dominate the Aegean. Hartvig Frisch has published a text, translation, discussion, and commentary entitled in Danish *Athenernes Statsforfatning* (Copenhagen, Nyt Nordisk Forlag, 1941) and in English *The Constitution of the Athenians, etc.* (1942). He argues for a date previous to 432 B.C., in the full Periclean Age; see p. 62 of the English version. On pp. 218-221, he discusses the picture of Athenian selfishness which the author draws in I 14. On pp. 249-251, he discusses the connection which the author indicates between Athenian imperialism, sea power, and her need to control the sea-borne grain trade. On p. 109, he remarks on the relative ("Thrasymachean") meaning which the author attaches to "just," *δίκαιον*, notably in I 2. This last topic is more fully treated by H. Fränkel in a "Note on the closing section of Pseudo-Xenophon's Constitution of the Athenians" in the *American Journal of Philology* LXVIII (1947) 309-312. Fränkel finds that in III 12-13, the author uses *δίκαιον* "to describe a way of action as promoting the interests of those in

power." On p. 310 n. 2, Fränkel points to a certain inconsistency in I 13, where  $\tau\delta\ \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$  seems to mean "true justice" in contrast to the advantage of the populace,  $\tau\delta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$ .

<sup>41</sup> Rohde (n. 25) 23-24.

<sup>42</sup> Rohde (n. 25) 93-95, concludes that the Athenian Empire found no real justification but only condemnation in writers from Thucydides through Aristotle, and he cites especially Aristotle's *Rhetoric* II 22 6-7, 1396 a 12-18, where Aristotle says that people praise the Athenians for Salamis and Marathon (see above, n. 35, for this argument in Thucydides) and other similar deeds but blame them because they enslaved the Greeks, their ally in the war against the barbarian (see below, n. 48 and see above, n. 34, for the absence of any such feeling in Thucydides). Rohde remarks that even Gorgias (see below, n. 47) and Isocrates (see below, nn. 46, 56), who urged concord among the Greeks, never thought that this should take the form of domination of one state over the rest. The Athenian Empire was often compared to a tyranny, a word hateful to the Greeks. See the remarks of Cochrane (n. 110) 84-86; also above, n. 30, for Thucydides.

<sup>43</sup> Ferguson (n. 5) 97-114.

<sup>44</sup> M. Cary in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* VI (1927) ch. II-IV, especially pp. 25-26 for the lessons of the fall of the Athenian Empire; pp. 36-37 for Sparta's failure to establish a permanent peace; and p. 102 for the weakness inherent in Epaminondas' plan for Theban supremacy.

<sup>45</sup> The inscription preserving the terms of the new Athenian league (377 B.C.) is discussed by E. L. Hicks and G. F. Hill, *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1901) no. 101, pp. 193-198; see also Haarhoff (n. 48) 37-38; S. Accame, *La Lega Ateniese del secolo IV A.C. (Studi pubblicati dal R. Ist. Ital. per la Storia Antica fasc. II, Rome, Signorelli, 1941)* 48-69.

<sup>46</sup> For Pan-Hellenism in the fourth century B.C., see J. Kaerst's chapter on "Die nationalhellenische Idee im vierten Jahrhundert" in his *Geschichte des Hellenismus* I (ed. 2, Leipzig & Berlin, Teubner, 1917) 138-153. For the ideals of Isocrates, see W. W. Jaeger, *Paideia* III (New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1944) 71-155, especially 71-83. G. M. A. Grube, reviewing *Paideia* in the *American Journal of Philology* LXVIII (1947) 200-215, criticizes Professor Jaeger on p. 213 for seeing too consistent and philosophical a point of view in Isocrates and regards the latter as full of contradictions and lacking a philosophic base. de Romilly, (n. 26) 266-268, 298-300, contrasts the political solution to the problem of Athenian imperialism offered by Isocrates and, to some degree, by Xenophon, with Thucydides' failure to answer the same problem; see above, n. 34.

<sup>47</sup> For the Peace of Antalcidas, see *Camb. Anc. Hist.* VI (1927) 54. The Peace was implemented by treaties between Athens and Sparta in 374 and 371 B.C., pp. 76-79. Isocrates attacked the Peace, especially later in his *Panegyricus*,



pp. 55-56. E. Barker, pp. 505-519, discusses the drive towards political unity in Greece during the fourth century and points out, p. 518, that Gorgias in 408 B.C. and Lysias in 388 B.C., both in public orations at Olympia, had exhorted the Greeks to unite to free Ionia; see Jaeger (n. 46) III 73 and 306 n. 3 for references; also Haarhoff (n. 48) 38. N. T. Pratt, in his chapter on "The People and the Value of their Experience" in *The Greek Political Experience* (n. 22) 10, attributes the failure of the Greeks to attain a Pan-Hellenic unity to their diversity of tribe and dialect.

<sup>48</sup> J. Jüthner, *Hellenen und Barbaren: Aus der Geschichte des Nationalbewusstseins* (*Das Erbe der Alten*, Neue Folge VIII, Leipzig, Dieterich'sche VBH, 1923), traces the concept of "barbarian" from Homer. He shows how the consciousness of a common Greek race developed among the particularist city-states through a common consciousness of their own similarity as against the otherness of non-Greek peoples; how the Sophists in the fifth century B.C. argued for the community of all men despite racial and cultural differences; how after Alexander Hellenism became increasingly a cultural rather than a racial differentiation and more and more associated specifically with Athenian culture (compare below, nn. 49, 62, 65); how the Romans perpetuated the distinction between civilized and barbarian but, despite their adoption of Greek culture, never identified themselves completely as Hellenes so that the world became tripartite: Romans, Greeks, and barbarians; and finally how the Christian Church identified Hellenism with paganism and the Byzantine Empire perpetuated the idea that its inhabitants were the true Romans so that only with the Renaissance was the union of Hellene and culture revived. T. J. Haarhoff, *The Stranger at the Gate* (London, New York, Toronto, Longmans Green, 1938), covers the same ground as Jüthner somewhat more fully for the Greeks. For Rome, he describes how the Romans accepted Hellenism and forged from the combination with their own genius an ecumenical but bilingual culture. He concludes by drawing parallels to the confrontation of the African and the English cultures in South Africa and by pleading for a "Holistic" (i.e., humanistic) program in education. At no period in Greek literature is there a consistent attitude towards the barbarians. Despite the growth of Greek self-consciousness after the Persian Wars, admiration for barbarians is evident in Aeschylus' *Persae*, in Herodotus (Haarhoff 20-26; Toynbee [n. 23] 373), and in Xenophon (Jaeger [n. 46] III 160), to mention only a few instances. On the other hand, so great a thinker as Plato felt that war against the barbarians should be ruthless whereas war between Greeks should be humane, *Rep.* V 469B-471C, cited with other passages by Jüthner, 23-25 and 130 nn. 70-71; see also Haarhoff 65-67 and n. on p. 71. Jaeger, p. 73, would add Plato's eighth *Epistle* (which he accepts as genuine), especially 353A and 357A, where Plato urges the Greeks in Sicily to unite against the common enemy, the Carthaginians, under Dion, if Dion will rule justly according to law and not tyrannically; otherwise the Carthaginians will reduce Sicily to "barbarism"; see Haarhoff 164. A similar argu-



ment was advanced in 217 B.C. by Agelaus of Naupactus to Philip V of Macedon according to Polybius, V 104; namely, that Philip and his allies should make a general peace in Greece with the Aetolians and their allies since either the Romans or the Carthaginians, whichever won the Second Punic War, would surely take advantage of the dissensions in Greece to overcome everybody; see Haarhoff 110. J. B. Bury, in an essay entitled "The Hellenistic Age and the History of Civilization" in *The Hellenistic Age: Aspects of Hellenistic Civilization* by J. B. Bury and others (Cambridge, Eng., Camb. Univ. Press, 1923) 24-26, thinks that the sense of the inferiority of the "barbarians" originated in the late fifth century B.C., for instance, in the later as against the earlier books of Herodotus, but see the criticism of this view by Paul Shorey in a review in *Classical Philology* XX (1925) 350-351. Bury cites in support of his view Euripides' statement in the *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1401-1402 that Greeks as free men, should rule the barbarians, who are slaves, and not *vice versa*: βαρβάρων δ' Ἑλλήνας ἄρχειν εἰκός, ἀλλ' οὐ βαρβάρους, / μήτερ, Ἑλλήνων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλον, οἷ δ' ἐλεύθεροι. Cromer, (n. 4) 9 n. 1, also cites these lines and adds that G. Grote, *History of Greece* II 162-163 (in ed. 4, London, Murray, 1872; the passage occurs at the opening of Part II chapter II), discusses the later, pejorative, meaning of "barbarian." E. B. England, *The Iphigenia at Aulis of Euripides* (London, New York, Macmillan, 1891) 140 n., gives parallels to the above lines from elsewhere in Euripides; see also Jüthner 20-21; Haarhoff 54-56. It is noteworthy in this connection that Thucydides, despite close connections of thought with Euripides in other respects (above, nn. 26, 38), apparently had no feeling against the rule of Greeks over Greeks (above, n. 34). For Alexander and the barbarians see below, n. 65. Plautus, in the *Miles Gloriosus* 211, speaks of the Roman Naevius as a *poetae barbaro*; for the identification see Festus-Paulus 36 2 (M). The speaker speaks, of course, as a Greek and Festus-Paulus remarks that in antiquity everybody not a Greek was a *barbarus*. Parallel passages from Plautus for this usage are collected by R. Y. Tyrrell in his edition of the *Miles* (London, Macmillan, 1894) 159, n. on line 212. For the concept of "barbarian" in Polybius see below, n. 70. W. F. J. Knight, in *Roman Vergil* (London, Faber and Faber, 1944) 268-269, remarks that Virgil hardly ever used *barbarus* but can give no good reason why. Moreover, his citations are not complete, see Merguet's *Lexicon* under *barbaricus* and *barbarus*. The question of Virgil's attitude on barbarians therefore needs further study, as does the whole attitude of the Roman empire towards barbarians. E. A. Thompson, *The Historical Works of Ammianus Marcellinus* (Cambridge, Eng., Camb. Univ. Press, 1947) 5 n. 2, cites W. Ensslin in *Klio* Beiheft XVI (1923) 33 for the statement that Ammianus, who wrote in the latter part of the fourth century A.D., uses the word *barbari* almost exclusively of the Germans, whom he hated as almost beasts, XXXI 8 9. Ammianus never uses it of the Persians, though he hated them almost equally, see p. 12, especially n. 3. The Greeks were curiously free from color prejudice, see Haarhoff 100 and n. on p. 103, also p. 299; Grace H.

Beardsley, *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929) 119-120. F. M. Snowden, Jr., in an article on "The Negro in Classical Italy" in the *American Journal of Philology* LXVIII (1947) 287-290, disputes Miss Beardsley's statement that the Romans developed a feeling of racial superiority to the Negro, see especially his n. 120 on pp. 288-289, also his discussion of race-mixture on pp. 290-292 and the Pompeian graffito cited on p. 279. An article by Professor Snowden on "The Negro in Ancient Greece" has appeared in *The American Anthropologist* L (1948) 31-44, and is summarized in *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* LXXVII (1946) 322-323. His study supports the conclusions of Zimmern and Westermann that there was among the Greeks no "color line" or desire for racial purity. He quotes Menander frag 533 K (Loeb ed. p. 480), especially lines 12-13, for the view that it makes no difference whether one is an Ethiopian or a Scythian; natural talent, not race, determines nobility. Compare Professor Snowden's "A Classical Addendum to Tannenbaum's *Slave and Citizen*" in *Classical Outlook* XXV (1948) 71-72 for the similarity between the lack of color prejudice in the classical world and that in modern Latin America.

<sup>49</sup> Isocrates *Panegyricus* 50. E. Meyer, in an essay on "Alexander der Grosse und die absolute Monarchie," *Kleine Schriften* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1910) 285-332, argued on p. 300 that Isocrates meant to extend the possibility of becoming Hellenes by education to all peoples. This is the generally accepted view, for instance by C. A. Robinson in his *Alexander the Great* (New York, Dutton, 1947) 237-238. But Jüthner, (n. 48) 34-39, argues that Isocrates meant by "our culture," τῆς παιδείσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας, specifically Athenian culture and that this was to be extended to other Greeks, not to barbarians. Haarhoff, (n. 48) 63, disputes Jüthner's interpretation and favors the traditional one. He admits, pp. 319-320, that Atticism became equivalent to culture; see also Toynbee (n. 23) 312 n. 1: "Atticistic would be a more accurate label than the customary term Hellenistic etc."

<sup>50</sup> Jüthner (n. 48) 44-59, especially p. 52. Capelle, (n. 88) 107-111, shows how the Stoics combined the distinction between Greeks and barbarians with Aristotle's distinction, *Politics* I 5, 1254 a 15-1255 a 2, between the "natural slave," who must be ruled, and the freeman, capable of ruling himself and others; see Nestle (n. 32) 223-224 and Haarhoff (n. 48) 67-68. For a much earlier manifestation of this idea, see the passage from Euripides *Iph. in Aul.* 1401-1402 cited above in n. 48.

<sup>51</sup> E. Barker in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* VI (1927) 518-519.

<sup>52</sup> For Isocrates' admiration for Athens see the pamphlets *Panegyricus*, *On the Peace*, *Areopogaticus*, and *Panathenaicus*.

<sup>53</sup> Jaeger (n. 46) III 85; Schmid und Stählin (n. 40) I ed. 6 (1912) 573-575; Münscher's article "Isocrates 2" in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* ed. G. Wissowa and W. Kroll (Stuttgart, Metzlersche BH) vol. IX (half vol. 18, 1916) 2146-2227.

<sup>54</sup> Robinson (n. 49) 32; see references in last note. The text is paraphrased from a quotation which Goodenough, (n. 21) 56-57, gives to indicate Isocrates' justification for Philip's hegemony; namely from *Philip* 114, where Isocrates urges Philip to imitate Heracles: κατὰ γε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἥθος καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣν εἶχεν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, and again from §116, where he exhorts Philip: ἐπὶ τε τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πραότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν.

<sup>55</sup> For Isocrates, see Jaeger (n. 46) III 84-105; for Xenophon, pp. 156-181; for Plato, II (1944) 312-320, based on *Rep.* VII 535A-541B. de Romilly, (n. 26) 278-279, suggests that the admiration for Pericles' wisdom found in Thucydides adumbrates the concept of the wise ruler as expressed in Xenophon, Isocrates, and even in Plato. She would not, however, go so far as to argue for a direct influence; Xenophon and Isocrates knew Thucydides but Plato apparently did not (above, n. 26).

<sup>56</sup> Goodenough (n. 21); see above, n. 42.

<sup>57</sup> For the dates of Isocrates, see Münscher (n. 53) 2150; Schmid und Stählin (n. 53) 565-569.

<sup>58</sup> Milton, *Sonnet X* lines 6-8. For doubts as to the tradition, see Münscher (n. 53) 2219; Schmid und Stählin (n. 53) 569.

<sup>59</sup> Robinson (n. 49) 22. Prof. C. Edson remarked in conversation that one achievement of Philip and Alexander was to secure for the Macedonians, whom the Greeks had previously regarded as barbarians, recognition as fellow Hellenes, that is, a civilized people; see Jüthner (n. 48) 28-33; Haarhoff (n. 48) 73-74; Robinson, (n. 49) 223, who gives from Arrian VII 9-10 a speech of Alexander on this theme delivered to mutinous Macedonian troops.

<sup>60</sup> For Aristotle, see Robinson (n. 49) 37-38; 42-43; for Homer, pp. 38, 75, 77-78.

<sup>61</sup> Robinson (n. 49) 73.

<sup>62</sup> Ferguson (n. 5) 116-148. On pp. 133-135, he argues that Alexander never lost faith in the supremacy of Hellenic culture; see above, nn. 22, 48, and below, n. 65; Robinson (n. 49) 74-75; Haarhoff (n. 48) 74; and P. Jouguet, *Macedonian Imperialism and the Hellenization of the East* (Eng. trans. by M. R. Dobie in *The History of Civilization* ed. by C. K. Ogden, London, Kegan Paul Trench Trubner; New York, A. A. Knopf, 1928) 395. For a brief survey of Greek respect for the Persians, see Toynbee (n. 23) 373. For Alexander and universality, see O. W. Reinmuth's chapter on "Alexander and the World State" in *The Greek Political Experience* (n. 22) 109-124. On pp. 117-118, Reinmuth tends to minimize Alexander's belief in the superiority of Greek culture. He regards the cities founded by Alexander not so much as centers for the dissemination of Greek culture among the barbarians as mingling points for Greek and other cultures. C. A. Robinson, "Alexander the Great and the Barbarians" (n. 65) 302-303, thinks that Alexander's foundations were primarily for garrison and administrative purposes. Professor Robinson defends the broad ecumenical

scope of Alexander's plans in an article which he is contributing to the forthcoming volume of *Hesperia* (1947) entitled "Alexander the Great and the Oecumene." In this he gathers together the ancient sources and references to the relevant modern literature. W. W. Tarn takes a more restrained view of Alexander's plans in his Raleigh Lecture on "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* XIX (published separately, London, Milford, 1933) and in his article on "Alexander, Cynics, and Stoics" in the *American Journal of Philology* LX (1939) 41-70. See also W. Kolbe's annual address to the Freiburger wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft (Heft 25) on *Die Weltreichsidee Alexanders des Grossen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Speyer, 1936). For the deification of Alexander, see below, n. 67.

<sup>63</sup> For Alexander's plans of western conquest, see Robinson (n. 49) 74, 228. Robinson cites in his bibliography (pp. 241-242) U. Wilcken's article on "Die letzten Pläne Alexanders des Grossen" in *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Ak. der Wiss.* (Berlin) phil.-hist. Kl. for 1937, 192-207, who argues for such plans, and W. W. Tarn's refutation, "Alexander's Plans," in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* LIX (1939) 124-135. Jouguet (n. 62) 1-7, remarks on how alien the concept of an ecumenical empire was to Greek political thought and how deeply Eastern were its roots; see also p. 394; Goodenough (n. 21) throughout; and above, n. 22. J. Kaerst, in an inaugural address entitled *Die antike Idee der Oekumene in ihrer politischen und kulturellen Bedeutung* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1903), touches on many of the points raised in this paper, notably on the contrast between the self-sufficient city state in which the individual is subordinated to the whole, and the ecumenical state, with its individualism and cosmopolitanism. He alludes briefly on p. 11 to the transitional stage from the city-state to the empire of Alexander, namely the imperialistic domination of one people over others. The two themes of the equality of all peoples (the ecumenical idea) and subordination of all alike to the one ruler are constantly brought out by Robinson in his *Alexander* (n. 49); see for the former, pp. 16-17, 21, 36, 73-74, 136, 224-225, 230, 235; and for the development of the latter, pp. 84, 99-101, 109, 131, 137, 161-167, 216-222. Haarhoff (n. 48) 75-76, emphasizes the elasticity of Alexander's actual arrangements; see generally pp. 74-84. Polybius, V 102 1, remarks, with hindsight, that Philip V of Macedon "came of a house such as always especially aimed for the hope of universal rule," ἐξ οἰκίας ὁρμώμενον τοιαύτης ἢ μάλιστα πως αὖτε τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἐλπίδος ἐφίεται. Philip was, of course, an Antigonid and not directly descended from Alexander, but Polybius probably had in mind the Macedonian kings generally.

<sup>64</sup> For the "empires" of the Ptolemies, Seleucids, and Antigonids, see Ferguson (n. 5) 149-248; chs. IX-XI, pp. 125-172, in *The Greek Political Experience* (n. 22). It is perhaps significant that such a recent and profound study of the Hellenistic period as M. Rostovtzeff's *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (3 vols., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1941) does not, in vol. III, index the word "imperialism."



<sup>65</sup> For Alexander's treatment of the barbarians on an equal footing with Greeks and Macedonians, see C. A. Robinson "Alexander the Great and the Barbarians" in *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps* (Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1936) 298-305. The relation of Greeks and Macedonians to the subject peoples in the Hellenistic period is conveniently discussed by W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization* (ed. 2, London, Arnold, 2nd imp. 1936) 58-64 (Antigonids), 130-131 (Seleucids), 155-156 (Ptolemies). The Antigonids, ruling Greeks, made the least distinction and in general approximated most closely to a hegemony. The Seleucids followed Alexander's preference for Greek culture but gave considerable recognition to subject leaders, particularly if Hellenized. The conflict induced by their policy appears most vividly in the resistance to it on the part of the orthodox Jews, led by the Maccabees, see Tarn, pp. 181-208. Finally, the Ptolemies made a sharp distinction and kept the Egyptians down, though the later Ptolemaic period witnessed a certain degree of Egyptian comeback, and Polybius, as quoted by Strabo XVII 1 12, C 797 (Polybius XXXIV 14 in vol. VI of the Loeb ed. [n. 70] 334-335), regarded the Egyptians as an acute and civilized race, *ὁξὺ καὶ πολιτικόν* (see Haarhoff's n. [n. 48] 101), superior both to the rough and uncultivated mercenaries, *βαρὺ καὶ . . . ἀνάγωγον*, and to the mongrel and not genuinely civilized Greek population, *οὐδ' αὐτὸ εὐκρινῶς πολιτικόν . . . καὶ . . . μεγάδες*; see Haarhoff (n. 48) 86-87. The famous description of Alexander's attitude towards the barbarians is found in Plutarch's first essay (*Oratio I De Alexandri Magni Fortuna aut Virtute* 329 B-D, to be found in the Teubner edition by Bernadakis, II (1889) 415-416, or in the Loeb edition by Babbitt, IV (1936) 396-399. Plutarch's two essays are a defense of the view that Alexander's success was due to his virtue, and not simply to Fortune. For the background of this debate, see the remarks by W. W. Tarn in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* VI (1927) 400, quoted by Robinson (n. 49) 11-12. Plutarch says that Zeno described an ecumenical state as a dream or pattern of good government and of a constitution, but Alexander produced fact to equal the theory. For he did not do as Aristotle advised him, namely, treat the Greeks as if he was their leader (*ἡγεμονικῶς*) and the barbarians like a master (*δεσποτικῶς*) and care for the former as friends and relatives but behave towards the latter as beasts or plants, since by such conduct he would have filled his realm with many exiles and subversive factions. Rather, he thought that he was sent by the gods as a general harmonizer and orderer of the whole world. Strabo, I 4 9, C 66-67, states that Eratosthenes later criticized Aristotle severely for his traditional point of view and said that "it would be better to make divisions not by race but according to virtue and vice (*ἀρετῇ καὶ κακίᾳ*) since not only were many Greeks bad (*κακοὺς*) but many of the barbarians were refined (*ἀσπελούς*), for instance Indians and Arians and also Romans and Carthaginians, who carried on their governments so admirably. Eratosthenes said that this was the reason why Alexander, disregarding Aristotle's advice, welcomed as many as he could of men of fair repute and did them favors"; see



Jüthner (n. 48) 49 and 134 n. 121; Haarhoff (n. 48) 69-70. Robinson (n. 49) 36, cites from Plutarch, *Or.* I 329 C at the end, the remark of Alexander that people should consider as akin to themselves all good men and as foreigners only the wicked; the distinguishing mark of the Greek should be seen in virtue and that of the foreigner in iniquity, etc. See above, n. 48, on the concept of "barbarian."

<sup>66</sup> For Hellenistic civilization, see generally Tarn (n. 65); Jouguet (n. 62), esp. H. Berr's remark in the preface, p. xiii; Rostovtzeff (n. 64); Jüthner (n. 48) 44-59; Haarhoff (n. 48) 86-103.

<sup>67</sup> For the king as animate law, see Goodenough (n. 21) throughout. On pp. 91-92, he cites a statement from the pseudo-Aristotelian (Anaximenes?) *Letter to Alexander* (prefaced to the *Rhetoric* of Anaximenes) that the λόγος (inadequately translatable as "reason") of Alexander as king was equivalent to νόμος ("law") in a democracy. Philippson, (n. 129) 436, cites from Plutarch *Alex.* 52 and Arrian *Anab.* IV 9 7 remarks of Alexander which imply that he regarded his words and acts as just because they were inspired by Zeus. Goodenough traces the concept of the king as animate law in Greek thought to the Pythagoreans and thinks that they assimilated it from the Near East, either in the pre-Platonic period or, as he thinks more probable, in the Hellenistic period, see particularly his concluding paragraph, pp. 101-102. Ferguson, (n. 5) 139-148 and in his article on "Legalized Absolutism en route from Greece to Rome" in the *American Historical Review* XVIII (1912) 29-47, argued that deification provided to Alexander and his successors, including the Roman emperors, a device for imposing their decisions as divine utterances on the Greek city-states, whose constitutions did not provide for any sovereignty beyond themselves. This view is debatable, Hammond (n. 106) 106-109. D. Magie emphasizes the sovereignty of free cities during the Hellenistic and Roman periods in his chapter on "The Political Status of the Independent Cities of Asia Minor in the Hellenistic Period" in *The Greek Political Experience* (n. 22) 173-186. C. A. Robinson, in his "Alexander's Deification" in the *American Journal of Philology* LXIV (1943) 286-301, argues that Alexander had recourse to deification to win back the loyalty of his mutinous Macedonian troops at Opis and, in general, to regularize his position politically vis-à-vis the Greeks. In part, the deification may have been the result of Alexander's instinct for "stage" in impressing on the Greeks his new oriental position; see Ferguson (n. 5) 123, cited by Haarhoff (n. 48) 77; Goodenough (n. 21) 86 n. 102; Robinson (n. 49) 114-116, 165, 220-221. Reinmuth, (n. 62) 120-121, connects the deification with Alexander's desire to be regarded as the harmonizer and stabilizer of the world, see Plutarch as quoted above in n. 65. For Alexander as the "hero-savior," see Cochrane (n. 110) 86-90. The Stoics, perhaps under the influence of the concept of the king as "animate law," developed Plato's theory of the philosopher-king who has true knowledge of the real world of eternal ideas into the view that the king, through his superior wisdom and virtue, makes effective in human relations the

divine reason that pervades the universe; see Goodenough 58, who cites J. Kaerst *Geschichte des Hellenismus* II (ed. 2, Leipzig, Teubner, 1926) 108-126, 304-325; see also Tarn (n. 65) 73-74; Bury (n. 48) 26-30; Haarhoff (n. 48) 82-83; Toynbee (n. 23) 540-541.

<sup>68</sup> Compare Zimmern, "Ath. and Am." (n. 22) 9; Cochrane (n. 110) 30-32.

<sup>69</sup> Tenney Frank, "Roman Historiography before Caesar," *American Historical Review* XXXII (1926/1927) 232-240; W. Soltau, *Die Anfänge der römischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Leipzig, Hässel, 1909); E. Ciaceri *Le Origini di Roma* (Milan, etc., Soc. Dante Alighieri, 1937) 1-120.

<sup>70</sup> The literary and epigraphic *Remains of Old Latin* down to Sulla are collected by E. H. Warmington in four volumes of the *Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press; London, Heinemann, 1935-1940). The historians are collected by H. Peter in *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1883) and, more fully, in *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae* I (ed. 2, Leipzig, Teubner, 1914).

<sup>71</sup> Warmington (n. 70) I viii-xiii.

<sup>72</sup> M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (Müller's *Handbuch der klass. Alt.-wiss.* VIII), I: "In der Zeit der Republic," ed. 4 by C. Hosius (Munich, Beck'sche VBH., 1927) 54-55 for Naevius, 76 for Plautus, 96-97 for Ennius; see also J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Golden Age* (ed. 2, London, Unwin, 1910 and later reprints) 118-201, especially 133-134 for Naevius, 146-148 for Ennius, and 172-176 for Plautus; Haarhoff (n. 48) 180-187. F. Christ, *Die römische Weltherrschaft in der antiken Dichtung* (Tübinger Beiträge zur Alt.-wiss. XXI, Stuttgart, Berlin, Kohlhammer, 1938) 182-183, discusses the concept of Rome's universality in the early poets. On pp. 179-182, he points to a possible Greek source for the concept of world rule in early Roman literature in a "Hymn to Rome" by a certain south Italian Greek poet, Melinno, cited by Stobaeus, III 7 12.

<sup>73</sup> Frank (n. 8) 56 nn. 2-3. On pp. 65-67, he traces the first period of Roman aggressiveness to the new democracy which at the beginning of the third century B.C. threw off conservative restraints and became involved in the war with Pyrrhus in 280 B.C.; compare his title for chapter VI: "Imperial Democracy." He argues that at the end of the First Punic War in 241 B.C. national exhaustion meant a resumption of conservative, senatorial, anti-imperialistic control, which lasted until the democratic revolt initiated by Tiberius Gracchus in 133 B.C. See generally his conclusion on pp. 356-357; Haarhoff (n. 48) 132-134. Frank's view of Rome as fundamentally nonaggressive is criticized briefly by Bury, (n. 48) 12-13, from a "Hellenistic" standpoint.

<sup>74</sup> See, briefly, H. J. Edwards' preface to W. H. Paton's translation in vol. I (1922) of the Loeb ed. (n. 70) of Polybius, pp. vii-xv.

<sup>75</sup> C. Wunderer, *Polybius: Lebens- und Weltanschauung aus dem zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert* (*Das Erbe der Alten*, zweite Reihe XII, Leipzig, Dieterich'sche VBH, 1927), gives a more general discussion of his thought than

does R. Laqueur, who, in his *Polybius* (Leipzig, Berlin, Teubner, 1913), is more concerned with determining strata of composition. See also W. Siegfried, *Studien zur geschichtlichen Anschauung des Polybius* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1928) and, briefly, Haarhoff (n. 48) 222-227. For the catholic and pragmatic viewpoint of Polybius, see briefly Edwards' preface (n. 74) to the Loeb ed. (n. 70) vol. I p. xi, with reference to III 6-8. K. Jäntere, (n. 128) xiii, remarks that Polybius substituted for the idea of the autarchy of the city-state or of the Hellenistic kingdom that of the autarchy of the whole world, but this concept goes back politically to Alexander and philosophically to the Stoics; see Kaerst (n. 63) 12-17, especially p. 12 bottom.

<sup>76</sup> For the Greek view of the Romans as barbarians, see Wunderer (n. 75) 59 and 75 n. 94; Jüthner (n. 48) 61-62. Polybius quite frequently represents Greeks as calling the Romans barbarians, for instance: XI 5(6) 7, in a speech of an Achaean ambassador; XVIII 22(5) 8, in the speech of a Macedonian messenger. The Persians are barbarians in IX 34 3, where Alexander is said to have enslaved them, and in XXXVIII 2 (4 or 16) 4, where the Persians under Xerxes are so called. The term is freely used of the tribes north of Macedon, IX 35 4 and 37 6; of the Thracians, XXIII 10 (XXIV 8) 4; of the Gauls with Brennus, IX 30 3, or in Galatia, XXI 40 (43 or XXII 24) 2, XXXI 9(11); and of the Hyrcanians, X 29 4 ff. The Ligurians are barbarians, XXXIII 8 (7 or 4) 3, 10 (11 or 8) 6; as are the natives of south Italy, X 1 2. "Barbarian" is identified with an atrocious outrage by the Achaean ambassador mentioned above, XI 5(6) 7, with reference to the Romans; and in connection with the treatment of Philinus and his sons by the Achaean demagogue Diaeus, XXXVIII 18 (XXXIX 11 or XL 5). One of the most amusing uses of the term in Polybius is in Cato's rebuke of Aulus Postumus who chose to write in Greek and then apologized for his "barbarisms," XXXIX 1 (12 or XL 6) 7: *κᾶπειτα παραιεῖσθαι συγγνώμην ἔχειν ἐὰν βαρβαρίζῃ τῆς ἀπάσης ἀτοπίας εἶναι*; see below, n. 86. Polybius was ready to admire virtue or courage in barbarians, as in the Galatian chief Ortiagon, XXII 21, and his wife Chiomara, XXI 38; in the Galatian chief Cavarus, IV 52 1, VIII 22 (24) 1; or in the Odrussian ruler Cotys, XXVII 12(10). But he shows no idealization of the barbarian, such as apparently occurred in some Hellenistic writers, Jüthner (n. 48) 55-59; Haarhoff (n. 48) 88 and n. on p. 102. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing under Augustus, refers to the view that the Romans were barbarians and refutes it by arguing that they were actually an offshoot of the Greeks, I 4-5 (preface), 10-11, 89-90; see Cary's preface to vol. I (1937) of the Loeb ed. (n. 70) of his *Roman Antiquities* pp. xx-xxii. Jüthner, (n. 48) 64-78, shows how the theory of the Greek origin of the Romans arose once the Romans became "civilized," that is, Hellenized, and suggests, p. 67, that the Roman equivalent for the Greek *παιδεία*, which distinguished Greek from barbarian, was *humanitas*, which also included the Greek *φιλανθρωπία*.

<sup>77</sup> Polybius III 2 6, 118 9, VI throughout, VIII 2(4) 7; Cochrane (n. 110) 91,

474. Compare Cicero *De Rep.* II 1 2, where the view that Rome's constitution was the product of the genius of the whole people, not of any individual, is attributed to Cato the Elder; see Cochrane (n. 110) 32. The relative weight in Polybius' thought of merit or Fortune in ensuring success has been much disputed; see XXIX 21 (6c) where Perseus, after his defeat, reflects that Demetrius of Phalerum attributed Alexander's overthrow of Persia to Fortune in a treatise on *Tyche*. Polybius compares the fall of Persia and the fall of Macedon as examples of the work of "Tyche, who never bargains with life, who always defeats our reckoning by some novel stroke." In XXXVI 17 (XXXVII 4 or 9), Polybius differentiates between natural accidents due to the gods or chance and events due to deliberate human action, like the decline of the birth rate in Greece, and he says that the Macedonian support of the pretender Andriscus in 149 B.C. was a human action but inspired by an infatuation from heaven, since the Romans had ruled well and the pretended "Philip" was a hateful man. Laqueur, (n. 75) 241-242, 275-277, thinks that Polybius replaced his view that Roman success was due to her excellent constitution by the view that it was due to "Tyche" in a late revision of his work, when he had fallen under the influence of Panaetius, who, in turn, was influenced by Demetrius; see especially Laqueur 242 n. 2, and, for the political slant of the view that Alexander's success was due to "Tyche," Tarn as cited above, n. 65.

<sup>78</sup> That Roman policy in the mid-second century was becoming increasingly selfish and power-conscious is the theme of various passages in Polybius (see below, n. 101); XXXI 10(18) 7 (see below, n. 98) on the Senate's decision of a dynastic dispute in Egypt; XXXI 11(19) 11 on a similar dispute in Syria; XXXI 21(32) 5-6 on the dispute between Massinissa and Carthage. L. Homo, in *Roman Political Institutions* (trans. M. R. Dobie in the series *History of Civilization* ed. by C. K. Ogden, London, Kegan Paul Trench Trubner; New York, Knopf, 1929) 85-90, gives examples of the abuse by the equestrians of contracts for tax-farming and for public works during the second century and describes how this brought them into conflict with the selfish interests of the senators. Sallust, writing a century later than Polybius, shared his view on senatorial selfishness as ruinous to the state, below, n. 105. Polybius, however, did not feel that Roman misgovernment was sufficient to justify opposition to her on the part of the Greeks. He quotes with disapproval the wild talk of an ambassador from Demetrius of Syria, a braggart grammarian, who justified the murder of a Roman envoy on the ground that it "would put a stop to the haughty orders of the Romans and to their unrestrained exercise of power"; see above, n. 77, for Polybius' condemnation in XXXVI 17 (XXXVII 4 or 9) of the Macedonians for supporting Andriscus against Rome.

<sup>79</sup> In III 2 6, Polybius says that the subject of his history was not simply how the Romans got their universal rule, since the acquisition of power is not an end in itself but, like all human actions, aimed at the resulting pleasure, good, or utility (§ 11). Rather he will study the effect of their domination on other



peoples, to see whether their rule was acceptable and praiseworthy or the reverse (§ 7). This suggests that in the lost portions of his work there may have been some consideration of the practical, if not the theoretical, justification for Rome's rule. The closest, however, that the surviving portions come to this is in XXXVI 9 (XXXVII 1 or 1a), where he gives the various opinions held in Greece with respect to Rome's conduct towards Carthage in the Third Punic War, a passage too long to quote here. In XXXVI 2 (1b), he notes with approval (based on Demetrius of Phalerum) the attention which Rome paid to basing her wars on justifiable pretexts, whatever the fundamental cause, since a good pretext justifies victory in the eyes of other nations and gains sympathy for defeat. Capelle, (n. 88) 89 n. 1, states: "Bei Polybius kann daher von einer Theorie (zugunsten oder zuungunsten des römischen Imperialismus) nicht wohl die Rede sein." He goes on to deny Nestle's contention, (n. 32) 238-239, that Polybius shows the influence of Panaetius (above, p. 118) in VI 3.

<sup>80</sup> Frank (n. 8) 138-242; M. Cary, *A History of Rome, etc.* (London, Macmillan, 1938) 178-212.

<sup>81</sup> Polybius closed his *History* in 144 B.C., see his epilogue, XXXIX 8 (19 or XL 12), but he presumably was composing it in the years between that date and his death about 120 B.C. (below, n. 83). Cary, (n. 80) 212 n. 12, refers to M. N. Tod, "The Macedonian Era," *Annual of the British School at Athens XXIII* (1918/1919) 206-217 for the annexation of Macedon in 148 B.C. instead of in the generally accepted year 146 B.C.

<sup>82</sup> The position of Scipio the Elder (Africanus) and Scipio the Younger (Aemilianus) in the development of Roman imperialism, as generally in the development of Roman culture, is much disputed. Scipio the Elder retired from Rome in 184 B.C. in dudgeon at the impeachment brought against his brother for their joint conduct of the war against Antiochus, and he died in the following year, Cary (n. 80) 252. Polybius could never, therefore, have known him personally. Cary, (n. 80) 592 n. 32, points out that Polybius presents him as a Machiavellian manager of men, whereas Livy regards him as a great Roman leader and hero. Similarly, W. Schur, in his *Scipio Africanus und die Begründung der römischen Weltherrschaft (Das Erbe der Alten, zweite Reihe XIII, Leipzig, Dieterich'sche VBH., 1927)*, makes him out as the founder of one-man power, a *princeps*, and the father of Roman imperialism, who was heroized by his Hellenized admirers and regarded as a "tyrant" by aristocrats like Cato. R. M. Hayward, on the other hand, in his *Studies on Scipio Africanus (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science series LI no. 1, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933)*, criticizes the "legend" that made him a mystic and *princeps* and portrays him simply as a Roman noble, leader of the liberal, philhellene party, who was heroized only in the East and only to the extent that other Romans had been. Scipio the Younger was considerably junior to Polybius and may well have been influenced more than was the historian by the thought of the Greek philosophers domiciled in his home (below,



n. 88). Even the degree to which Polybius felt this influence is disputed, above, n. 77 end. J. Kaerst, "Scipio Aemilianus, die Stoa und der Prinzipat," *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung* V (1929) 653-675, argues strongly for the influence on Scipio of the teaching of Panaetius. K. Bilz, *Die Politik des P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus* (Würzburger Studien zur Alt.-wiss. VII, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1936), regards Scipio as a great and typical Roman aristocrat, free from the selfishness and corruption which characterized many of his contemporaries but looking backward, seeking cures for the basic decay of the constitution by remedying superficial faults, and blind to the need for a revolutionary change of the outworn city-state form of government to adapt it to the needs of empire. O. Seel, *Römische Denker und römischer Staat* (Neue Wege zur Antike I. Reihe [Darstellungen] XIII, Leipzig, Berlin, Teubner, 1937) 6 n. 1, and 77, thinks that Scipio stood closer to Polybius and both to Carneades than to Paenetus, though Scipio softened the stark "power politics" of Carneades by his devotion to the Roman tradition of morality and duty. Frank, (n. 8) 186-187, thinks that Scipio the Elder attempted to make Rome simply another enlightened Hellenistic power and that even the defeat of Perseus, pp. 213-215, did not make Rome more eager for direct annexation, though it meant the substitution of a more practical policy towards Greece in place of the previously sentimental philhellenism. Only with the conquest of Carthage, p. 238, did Rome become frankly ambitious for power, as indicated by Polybius, XXXVI 9 (above n. 79).

<sup>83</sup> For the dates of Polybius, see Schmid und Stählin (n. 40) ed. 6 II ("Die Nachklass. Periode") 1 384 n. 2. He was born about 201 B.C. and died at 82, hence about 120 B.C. For Cicero, see O. Plasberg, *Cicero in seinen Werken und Briefen* (Das Erbe der Alten, zweite Reihe XII, Leipzig, Dieterich'sche VBH., 1926) 8-9; below, n. 93.

<sup>84</sup> For the period from the Gracchi through Sulla, see Cary (n. 80) 281-345. R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1939), gives a rather cynical and highly colored account of the forces at work during the whole period from the Gracchi to Augustus, with particular attention to the part played by the old families in the attempt to preserve their position. Cochrane, (n. 113) 17-19, interprets the "revolution" as a protest by the proletariat "against the prostitution of a common good (*res publica*) to the interests of a narrow and selfish plutocracy."

<sup>86</sup> It may be questioned whether Tiberius Gracchus was at all imperialistic; he seems to have combined the traditional Roman point of view that the strength of the state rested in a healthy peasantry with the Greek concept that the assembly of the people represented the ultimate sovereignty of the state and that no control should stand in the way of its will. The following quotation from Hobson (n. 6) 103 sounds very similar to what the ancient sources, admittedly written two centuries or more after the Gracchan period, namely, Appian *Bell. Civ.* I 7-11 and Plutarch's *Tiberius Gracchus* 7 (see Cary [n. 80] 294 n. 4), put in Tiberius' mouth: "A military nation surrounded by hostile

empires must have within her boundaries adequate supplies of the sinews of war, efficient recruits, and a large food supply. We cannot safely rely upon the fighting capacities of a town-bred population, or upon food supplies from foreign lands. Both needs demand that checks be set upon the excessive concentration of our population in towns and that a serious attempt be made to revive agriculture and restore the people to the soil. There are two methods which seem possible. The one is a large radical scheme of land reform interfering with the rights of landowners by compulsory purchase or leasing on the part of public bodies, with powers to establish large numbers of small farmers on the soil with loans of capital sufficient to enable them to live and work upon the soil. The other method is Protection, the re-imposition of taxes on imported grain, cattle, fruit, and dairy produce, with the object of stimulating agriculture and keeping the population on the soil. Given the political sway of the propertied classes, it is certain that the latter course will be preferred. . . ." Brown, (n. 36) however, accepts a speech attributed by Appian, *Bell. Civ.* I 11, to Tiberius as evidence that he may have had imperialistic ideas derived from his Greek philosopher teachers. For the possibility that Tiberius was disturbed by the concentration of population in Rome, see H. Last in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* IX (1932) 7-10 and Cary (n. 80) 294 n. 4. The latter cites with scepticism the argument of D. Kontchalowski for this sociological purpose of Tiberius' law in his "Recherches sur l'Histoire du Mouvement Agraire des Gracques" in *Revue Historique* CLIII (1926) 161-186, especially pp. 179-185. Gaius Gracchus, in the face of the opposition of the landed classes, could not turn to Protection, so he turned, probably again under the influence of Greek theories of the responsibility of the state to support its population (Hasebroek [n. 8] 11-21; Last in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* IX [1932] 57-60), to the importation of grain by the state for sale (to prevent profiteering) and to the use of revenues from Asia (to finance his schemes of poor relief through the distribution of land, the importation of grain, and the foundation of colonies); see Cary (n. 80) 291.

<sup>80</sup> Despite the attempt of Cicero to humanize the personality of Cato the Censor in his essay *On Old Age*, it is generally agreed that Cato was a reactionary who epitomized the opposition of the conservative Roman landowning senators to the liberal and philhellene policy of the Scipios; see Haarhoff (n. 48) 209-215; Cochrane (n. 110) 32-34. Cato is not mentioned in connection with the expulsions of Greek philosophers from Rome in 161 and 154 B.C. (or 173 B.C., see Schanz-Hosius I [n. 72] 178-181, also 209-211). But he must have supported them because of his conviction that Greek manners would corrupt the state; see Duff (n. 72) 106; Haarhoff (n. 48) 212, 227, 234-235, 240; and particularly the statements of Cato's contemporary Polybius, XXXI 25 (XXXII 11 or XXXI 24) 5a, in connection with the author's praise of Scipio the Younger for resisting this corruption, and XXXIX 1 (12 or XL 6) on Cato's condemnation of Aulus Postumius, partly quoted above, n. 76. Cato urged in the Senate that the embassy of philosophers sent from Athens in 156/5 (below, n. 88) be dismissed as soon as possible, Plutarch *Cato Ma.* 22. When

the censor Crassus expelled Latin teachers of grammar and rhetoric from Rome in 92 B.C., it had come to be recognized that these subjects should be taught, but only by Greeks; the profession was unworthy of Latins. This represents, perhaps, a patriotic feeling rather than the moral opposition of Cato; see Duff (n. 72) 106; Haarhoff (n. 48) 235-236.

<sup>87</sup> For the remains, see the collections cited above in n. 70. Lucilius, the intimate of Scipio the Younger and frank commentator on men and policies of his time, does not in his surviving fragments reflect any imperial themes; see F. Christ (n. 72) 182: "Aus den im Vergleich zum Gesamtwerk spärlichen Fragmenten des Lucilius geht wenigstens die Unbesiegbarkeit Roms hervor"; also Schanz und Hosius (n. 72) I 156-157.

<sup>88</sup> The following argument is that of W. Capelle in his "Griechische Ethik und römischer Imperialismus," *Klio* XXV (1932) 86-113. Capelle is diametrically opposed to the view of Nestle, (n. 32) 237-242, that the ideas of Carneades on power politics prevailed at Rome. Kaerst, *Scipio Aemilianus* (n. 82), agrees with Capelle that Panaetius prevailed. Seel, (n. 82) 68, distinguishes two lines of thought: Heraclitus-Poseidonius-Sallust-Horace-Tacitus and Plato-Dicaearchus-Panaetius-Cicero-Lucan-Seneca. He thinks, p. 71, that the former accepted the Roman rule as a *de facto*, amoral, result of fate while the latter sought its justification in natural law; see below, n. 126. Capelle, pp. 94-96, refers to A. Schmekel, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa usw.* (Berlin, Weidmannsche BH., 1892) 55-63, for the analysis of Cicero's *De Republica* III; see also K. Sprey, *De M.T. Ciceronis Politica Doctrina* (Amsterdam Thesis, Zutphen, Nauta, 1928) 30-32. Sprey, pp. 23-52, compares the argument in *De Rep.* III with similar arguments in *De Leg.* I and *De Off.* III to support the derivation from Panaetius; see also M. Pohlenz, *Antikes Führertum; Cicero "De Officiis" und das Lebensideal des Panaitios* (*Neue Wege zur Antike*, II Reihe, [Interpretationen] Heft 3, Leipzig, Berlin, Teubner, 1934) 33. Schmekel discusses the political theory of Panaetius in pp. 225-229, without reference to imperialism, and the conflict between Carneades and the Middle Stoa in pp. 356-379. Schmekel is closely followed by B. N. Tatakis, *Panétius de Rhodes, etc.* (Paris, Vrin, 1931) 211-216. M. Van Straaten's *Panétius: sa Vie ses Écrits et sa Doctrine avec une Édition des Fragments* (Amsterdam, Paris, 1946) was not available for consultation. The difference in date between Polybius, who came to Rome in 167 B.C., above, p. 116, and the arrival of the philosophers was not in fact great. The first Greek teacher to establish himself at Rome seems to have been Crates of Mallos, a grammarian, in 165 B.C. (Tatakis, p. 21, dates after 159 B.C.); see Schanz und Hosius (n. 72) I 212-214. The embassy from Athens in 156/5 B.C., to ask for reduction of a fine, comprised Diogenes the Stoic, Critolaus the Peripatetic, and Carneades, a Sceptic of the New Academy; see Schanz und Hosius I 178-180; Nestle (n. 32) 240 n. 2; Haarhoff (n. 48) 153. Panaetius first visited Rome between 144 and 140 B.C. and again between 138 and 130 B.C.; see Schmekel 6-7; Tatakis 25-29; Schanz-Hosius I (n. 72) 212-214. Cicero com-

posed the *De Republica* between 54 and 51 B.C., see Sabine and Smith's preface, (n. 96) 43.

<sup>89</sup> Capelle (n. 88) 86-93; for Thrasy-machus, etc., above p. 111.

<sup>90</sup> Capelle (n. 88) 93-113, particularly pp. 101-104 for an analysis of three passages in Strabo, III 144C, 154, and 156, not previously regarded as derived from Posidonius.

<sup>91</sup> For Aristotle on the "natural slave," see Capelle (n. 88) 107-111 and above n. 50. For the Stoics, see Schmekel (n. 88) 378-379.

<sup>92</sup> For Plato's influence, see Schmekel (n. 88) 34, 378. The early Stoics submerged the concept of the city-state in that of the universal brotherhood of man but the later Stoics, Panaetius and Posidonius, while still clinging to universal brotherhood as an ideal, accepted the city-state with a mixed constitution as the best practical political setting for the life according to reason and natural law; Schmekel 374-378; Sprey (n. 88) 13, citing Diogenes Laertius VII 131.

<sup>93</sup> The best life of Cicero in English, with summaries of his speeches and essays, is T. Petersson, *Cicero: A Biography* (Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press, 1920). See the more detailed article by Gelzer, Kroll, Philippson, and Büchner under Tullius no. 29 in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus, *Realencyclopädie* (n. 53), zweite Reihe vol. VII (half vol. 13, 1939) 827-1274.

<sup>94</sup> Reference is to the *Verrines*, the *Manilian Law*, and the three speeches *Against Rullus on the Agrarian Law*.

<sup>95</sup> The modern works on the political theory of Cicero are too numerous to list, see recently V. Pöschl, *Römischer Staat und griechisches Staatsdenken bei Cicero* (*Neue deutsche Forschungen* Abt. klass. Philol. V, Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1936). For the practical unreality of Cicero's views, see Seel (n. 82) 6-11; and Christ (n. 72) 183, who sees in Sallust, Cicero, and Lucretius a "tragic" loyalty to a bankrupt past.

<sup>96</sup> The translation of *Cicero On the Commonwealth* by G. H. Sabine and S. B. Smith (Columbus, Ohio, Ohio State University Press, 1929) has a summary of the political theories upon which Cicero drew but does not refer to his view on imperialism. See, however, the remarks of Vogt, (n. 102) 89-93. A. N. Sherwin-White, (n. 122) 270-275, has an interesting discussion of the concept of the Roman empire as *omnes gentes*, and disputes the view of Kornemann that this implied an absence of real loyalty to Rome and the strength of provincial "nationalism." Sherwin-White traces the use of *gentes* for the provinces to Sallust and particularly to Cicero but thinks that by this word Cicero recognized the unification of various peoples under Rome's rule, just as later the phrase *orbis terrarum* came to describe the world-wide extent of the empire.

<sup>97</sup> *De Rep.* V 1 1, from Augustine *De Civ. Dei* II 1 and Nonius p. 417 7, begins with the famous verse of Ennius: *Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque* and continues shortly thereafter; *nam neque viri nisi ita morata civitas fuisset, neque mores, nisi hi viri prae-fuissent, aut fundare aut tam diu tenere*



*potuissent tantam et tam fusc lateque imperantem rem publicam.* Compare Sallust's reflections on the rise and decay of Rome in *Bell. Cat.* 53, especially § 4: *paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse.* See Christ (n. 72) 145-146 for the theme that fruitfulness in worthy leaders is the source of empire and pp. 146-155, 178 for moral virtues as its foundation.

<sup>98</sup> *De Rep.* III 24 35, from Nonius p. 498 13: *noster autem populus sociis defendendis terrarum iam omnium potitus est*; compare *De. Off.* II 8 27: *patrocinium orbis terrae verius quam imperium*; *De Leg.* III 3 9: *imperia, potestates, legationes . . . sociis parcunt* etc.; *De Leg.* III 7 17 (placed here in the Loeb ed., from Macrobius, see Müller's Teubner ed. of the *De Leg.*, 1905, p. 450 fragment 3): *qui poterit socios tueri, si dilectum rerum utilium et inutilium non habebit.* See Sprey (n. 88) 50-54. H. Wachtler, in his *Kommentar zu Cicero De Rep.* (Leipzig, Berlin, Teubner, 1930) 48, cites on *De Rep.* III 24 35, Polybius' comment, XXXI 10(18) 7 (above, n. 78), on the way in which the Romans advanced their own interests while ostensibly benefiting those who made mistakes and Virgil's famous formula for Roman rule in *Aen.* VI 852, quoted below, n. 121. Wachtler says that the English use the same "Rechtsfiktion."

<sup>99</sup> *De Rep.* III 25 37, from Augustine *Contra Iulianum Pelag.* IV 12 61: *an non cernimus optimo cuique dominatum ab ipsa natura cum summa utilitate infirmorum datum?* See Capelle (n. 88) 93; also Augustine *De Civ. Dei* XIX 21, who connects this passage from Cicero with the justification of slavery and imperialism; compare Aristotle on slavery, above, n. 50.

<sup>100</sup> *De Rep.* IV 7 7, from Nonius p. 24 21: *nolo enim eundem populum imperatorem et portitorem esse terrarum. optimum autem et in privatis familiis et in re publica duco esse parsimoniam.* Cicero may have in mind the arguments of the demagogues that revenues from the empire should be devoted to the support and amusement of the ruling Roman *populus*, see above, nn. 8, 10, 85, and p. 117. Sprey, (n. 88) 135-186, thinks that Cicero is indirectly criticizing Gaius Gracchus, who exposed the provincials to the rapacity of equestrian financiers by his law on the taxes of Asia. Vogt, (n. 102) 90 n. 65, thinks that Cicero's consciousness of the duty of the ruler to care for the ruled, as pragmatically set forth in his letter on provincial government to his brother Quintus, *Ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, especially §31, is not purely the result of his studies in Greek philosophy but also reflects the basis of the confidence of the subjects in Rome, her *fides*. Vogt's criticism is directed against R. Harder, who, in discussing Cicero's concept of *humanitas* in an article "Nachträgliches zu *humanitas*" in *Hermes* LXIX (1934) 71-73, traced Cicero's advice to Quintus back to Plato through Panaetius. Whatever the source, both agree that Cicero regarded it as a duty of the ruler, that is, the Roman governor, to consider the interests of the ruled, the provincials.

<sup>101</sup> *De Rep.* VI 16 16, from Macrobius, concluding: *iam ipsa terra ita mihi parva visa est, ut me imperii nostri, quo quasi punctum eius attingimus, paeni-*



teret. Scipio the Younger, according to Polybius, feared that the fate which he had imposed on Carthage would someday overtake Rome, see XXXVIII 21 (XXXIX 5 or XXXIX 3), derived from Plutarch *Apophthegmata* p. 200 and Appian *Punica* 132. It is Appian who has Scipio quote the famous lines which Homer, *Il.* VI 448-449, places in the mouth of Hector, prophesying the eventual fall of Troy. Polybius himself believed that political institutions, like all of nature, passed through a cycle of growth and decay and that the Roman constitution, excellent as he found it, would someday suffer a change for the worse, VI 9 12, 57. Possibly he felt that this was beginning in his own day, see above, n. 78, and, for Sallust, below, n. 105. In general, compare Vogt (n. 102) 35-39 for Cicero's belief that all things human ultimately decline, but contrast pp. 72-101 for Cicero's belief in the eternal character of Rome. Such inconsistencies depend on the particular mood and occasion of Cicero's writing. Politically speaking in human terms, Rome would endure forever; religiously and viewed in the light of eternity, her rule was temporal.

<sup>102</sup> J. Vogt, *Ciceros Glaube an Rom* (Würzburger Studien zur Alt.-wiss. VI, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1935), who follows Capelle in his view of Roman imperialism; see p. 91, where he also cites Pohlenz, *Antikes Führertum usw.* (n. 88) 31-33. For Cicero's belief in the mortality of man and the eternity of the divine spirit, see Vogt, 76-81, 93-99.

<sup>103</sup> Duff (n. 72) 408. Cato the Younger condemned Caesar's breaches of faith in Gaul so bitterly that he tried to have him handed over to the Gauls, Nestle (n. 32) 239, Plutarch *Cato Ut.* 51.

<sup>104</sup> See Frank (n. 8) 329-347; E. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompeius* (ed. 3, Berlin, Cotta, 1922); Cochrane (n. 110) 6-8. For the influence of Hellenistic ideas on Caesar, see briefly Bury (n. 48) 14-15. Augustus, for all his "traditionalism," also learned much from the Hellenistic monarchies, see M. Hammond, "Hellenistic Influences on the Structure of the Augustan Principate," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* XVII (1940) 1-24. H. Rudolph, *Stadt und Staat im römischen Italien* (Leipzig, Dietrich, 1935) 243, thinks that Caesar had in fact made the transition from city-state to empire. This leads Seel, (n. 82) 13 n. 1, to think that the travail of the Roman empire to attain the ecumenical form during the following centuries was a tragic waste.

<sup>105</sup> Not only were Cicero and the conservative senators blinded by their devotion to traditional political theories or by their own selfishness to the need for change, Syme (n. 84) 22-24, but even so loyal a supporter of Caesar as Sallust could not escape the tradition of the city-state and appreciate Caesar's ecumenical policy, according to Seel (n. 82) 12-17, who accepts the genuineness of the two letters to Caesar preserved under the name of Sallust. A fragment of Sallust's *Histories* opens with the statement that the Roman empire had reached its greatest extent with the conquests of Caesar, in 53 B.C.: *Res Romana plurimum imperio valuit Servio Sulpicio et Marco Marcello consulibus,*

*omni Gallia cis Rhenum atque inter mare nostrum et Oceanum, nisi qua paludibus invia fuit, perdomita.* Sallust goes on to remark that the state had the best morals and most harmony, *optimis autem moribus et maxima concordia egit*, between the Second and Third (last) Punic wars, not through any inherent love of justice, *amor iustitiae*, but through fear that peace would be unstable as long as Carthage survived. After the destruction of Carthage, discord, avarice, ambition (= corruption), and the other evils customary in a period of success increased at Rome. And before the Second Punic war the state was rent by the struggles between the patricians and the plebeians. This passage is no. 11 of bk. I in Maurenbrecher's (Leipzig, Teubner, 1891) ed. p. 6. It has recently been discussed textually by W. Clausen in "Notes on Sallust's *Historiae*" in the *American Journal of Philology* LXVIII (1947) 300-301. The passage has been reconstituted by combining a citation in Victorinus *In Rhet. Cic.* with one in Augustine *De Civ. Dei* II 18 and Clausen adduces a paraphrase from Velleius Paterculus I 12 6. With Sallust's opinion, compare Polybius, above, n. 78, and Cicero, above, n. 101. The opposition to Caesar's ecumenical policy on the part of the Italians, as against that of the Romans represented by Cicero, Sallust, and their fellows, was anticipated by the assassination and did not find expression until Augustus rallied it against Antony's attempt to perpetuate (or exaggerate?) Caesar's ideas; see Syme (n. 84) 284-289; *Camb. Anc. Hist.* X (1934) 90, 98; Cochrane (n. 110) 15-16.

<sup>108</sup> The present writer has argued for the sincerity of Augustus in *The Augustan Principate* (Cambridge, Mass., Harv. Univ. Press, 1933), see especially pp. 21 and 209 n. 15. Compare Cochrane (n. 110) 2-3. For an extremely cynical view of his sincerity, see Syme (n. 84) throughout the latter part. See also H. S. Jones in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* X (1934) 127-132 and Adcock in pp. 587-590; W. Weber, *Principes* I (Stuttgart, Berlin, Kohlhammer, 1936) 137\*-140\* n. 557. For the favored status of the Italians, Adcock in *C.A.H.* X 585, 587, 603-607.

<sup>107</sup> The general view is that whether or not Augustus' cessation of expansion was due to the defeat of Varus in 9 A.D. or to a fundamental appreciation that the resources of the empire in men and money would not stand the strain of further conquests, he did establish a policy not to make further conquests, see briefly Cary (n. 80) 495-496; Frank (n. 8) 349-354; Hammond "Economic Stagnation" (n. 108) 75 n. 49, 87 n. 101. W. Kolbe, "Forschungen über die Varusschlacht," *Klio* XXV (1932) 168, concludes that the defeat of Varus did not stop Augustus' attempt to establish the Elbe as his German frontier and that it was the resistance of the Germans, inspired by Hermann's (Arminius') victory, which finally forced Tiberius to give up the attempt. Tacitus, *Ann.* IV 32, calls Tiberius *princeps incuriosus preferendi imperii*, and, *Ann.* I 11 4, *Agr.* 13 2, attributes this policy to the advice of Augustus; see Seel (n. 82) 34 n. 1, 76.

<sup>108</sup> Frank (n. 8) 354-355. Tacitus, *Ann.* II 61 2, *Hist.* I 1 with Spooner's note, p. 105 (London, Macmillan, 1891), regarded Trajan as a reviver of the

ancient tradition of conquest. M. Rostovtzeff, in *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926) 307-315, thought that Trajan's conquests placed a strain on the resources of the empire which contributed to gradual economic decline during the second century A.D., see M. Hammond, "Economic Stagnation in the Roman Empire" in *The Tasks of Economic History* (*Journal of Economic History* suppl. VI, 1946) 76 n. 50; Toynbee (n. 23) 536.

<sup>109</sup> Tacitus *Ann.* I 9 6; *Camb. Anc. Hist.* X (1934) 601.

<sup>110</sup> Above, nn. 2-3. A stimulating discussion of the intellectual bases of the Roman empire and of their failure may be found in C. N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture: A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine* (London, New York, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1944, corrected reprint from Clarendon Press ed. of 1940). The first three chapters, on the bases of the Augustan Principate as they developed in the later Republic, are particularly relevant. For the ecumenical character of the Roman empire, see Cochrane's remarks on pp. 72-73.

<sup>111</sup> Hammond, *Augustan Principate* (n. 106) 111-112. To the references given in Hammond 268 n. 16, add R. Reizenstein, "Die Idee des Principats bei Cicero und Augustus," *Nachrichten der kgl. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl. for 1917, 399-436, 481-498; R. Heinze, "Cicero's 'Staat' als politische Tendenzschrift," *Hermes* LIX (1924) 73-94.

<sup>112</sup> For *auctoritas*, see M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge, Eng., Camb. Univ. Press, 1946) 424-453, especially p. 443 n. 4 for references to earlier discussions.

<sup>113</sup> L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Monograph I, published by the American Philological Association, Middletown, Conn., 1931) 142-227.

<sup>114</sup> Adcock in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* X (1934) 586. Toynbee, (n. 23) 495, notes that Augustus had a head of Alexander on his second seal-ring, Suet. *Aug.* 50 (his first had borne a sphinx). Suetonius comments that this seal was used by the succeeding princes. Augustus, like Caesar, was not unconscious that the Roman empire was heir to Alexander's plans and the name and achievements of Alexander exercised a great fascination over succeeding emperors, who felt them a challenge to the Roman sway; see A. Jardé, *Études Critiques sur la vie et le règne de Sévère Alexandre* (Paris, Boccard, 1925) 3 n. 1, and any index to the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* under "Alexander." Trajan particularly felt the rivalry of Alexander, Dio LXVIII 29 1, 30 1.

<sup>115</sup> Christ (n. 72) 172-173; Frank (n. 8) 348-349.

<sup>116</sup> Christ (n. 72) 155-168, 173-174; above, n. 97; M. P. Charlesworth, "The Virtues of a Roman Emperor: Propaganda and the Creation of Belief," The Raleigh Lecture in History, *Proceedings of the British Academy* XXIII (London, Milford, 1937) 6-13. The sincerity of the Augustan poets in their praise of Augustus is much disputed; Syme, (n. 84) 459-475, entitles his chapter XXX

"The Organization of Opinion." E. K. Rand, in *The Building of Eternal Rome* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1943) 36-80, believes that the poets sincerely advocated "The Ideal Empire and its Fulfillment" (ch. II); see also Christ (n. 72) 186-191 and, for Virgil and Horace, Seel (n. 82) 17-37; Knight, *Roman Vergil* (n. 45) 56, 302-303.

<sup>117</sup> Schanz und Hosius (n. 72) II (1935) 310-313; Duff (n. 72) 650-651; Cochrane (n. 110) 86-90. Livy's preface, perhaps written before the establishment of the principate, shows a tone of pessimism over the present compared to the past which recalls the backward-looking attitude of Cicero and Sallust, above, nn. 95, 105, and also the pessimism of Horace's poems during the civil wars, notably *Epode* 16 and *Odes* I 14; see Seel (n. 82) 33. See also below, n. 126.

<sup>118</sup> Livy XXII 13 11: *quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere*; see Capelle (n. 88) 97; Seel (n. 82) 69.

<sup>119</sup> For F. Christ, see above, n. 72.

<sup>120</sup> Schanz und Hosius (n. 72) II (1935) 68-70; Duff (n. 72) 461-464; Rand (n. 116) 57-62; Cochrane (n. 110) 27-30.

<sup>121</sup> *Aen.* VI 847-853 (see above, n. 98):

*Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera  
(credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus,  
orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus  
describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent;  
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento  
(haec tibi erunt artes), pacisque imponere morem,  
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.*

Nestle, (n. 32) 242, takes a rather cynical view that Cicero and Virgil express simply a practical maxim achieved by political cleverness, one in which England excels. Horace, less interested in government, gave Greece full credit for the early civilization of Latium when, in his letter to Augustus on contemporary literary trends, he remarked, *Ep.* II 1 156-157: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes / intulit agresti Latio*. Horace does, however, recognize Roman virtue, especially in *Odes* III 1-6 and in bk. IV; see Duff (n. 72) 526-572; Seel (n. 82) 35-37; Rand (n. 116) 66-68, 72-74; Haarhoff (n. 48) 265-274.

<sup>122</sup> A. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1939) 17-227.

<sup>123</sup> Hammond, "Economic Stagnation" (n. 103) 83-84. It came to be realized that even slavery was not, as Aristotle had maintained (above, n. 50), based on nature but was an institution of civil law, contrary to nature, see Poste, *Institutes of Gaius* (ed. 4, Oxford, Univ. Press, 1904) 37-38, citing Florentinus in *Dig.* I 5 4; and, Ulpian in Justinian's *Dig.* L 17 32; R. H. Barrow, *Slavery in the Roman Empire* (London, Methuen, 1928) 158-172.



<sup>124</sup> For *Urbs* = *Orbis*, Christ, (n. 72) 81-82, cites Propertius; then Ovid *Fasti* II 683-684:

*Gentibus est aliis tellus data limite certo:*

*Romanae spatium est urbis et orbis idem;*

then Manilius; and finally Rutilius Namatianus (below, n. 132) I 63-66:

*Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam:*

*Profuit iniustis, te dominante, capi;*

*Dumque offers victis proprii consortia iuris,*

*Urbem fecisti, quod prius orbis erat.*

Dio Cassius, LII 19 6, writing in the early third century, at the time when Caracalla extended the citizenship to almost all inhabitants of the empire by his Edict of 212 A.D., makes Maecenas advise Augustus to extend the citizenship to all, so that they will think of Rome as their only city and the rest of the empire as only its fields and dependent villages.

Claudian, *De Cons. Stil.* III 150-153, at the end of the fourth century A.D. portrays Rome as a mother who calls all humanity under her protection. He concludes: *cives vocavit quos domuit*; see Christ (n. 72) 28, 87; Cromer (n. 4) 17; Toynbee (n. 23) 223. Toynbee, pp. 222-223, contrasts the admiration which Rome inspired in her subjects with the detestation of the British Raj in India, despite the fact that the British conferred benefits on India equal to those which Augustus brought to the Mediterranean world. Yet in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. the oppressed population of the Roman world welcomed the barbarians in preference to the exactions of their own government, Thompson, *Ammianus* (n. 48) 129-132.

<sup>125</sup> Romans vs. barbarians, see Jüthner (n. 48) 80-87; Haarhoff (n. 48) 216-221.

<sup>126</sup> For Tacitus, see G. Boissier, *Tacitus and Other Roman Studies* (Eng. trans. by W. G. Hutchinson, New York, Putnam; London, Constable, 1906) 135-144. On pp. 140-141, Boissier minimizes Tacitus' admiration for the Roman republic. Seel, (n. 82) 37-40, sees Tacitus as torn between his devotion to the traditional Roman culture and his recognition of the need for empire. Christ, (n. 72) 194-197, thinks that this inner conflict led in both Tacitus and Juvenal to a fundamental pessimism which attributed the collapse of the old ideal to the decay of the antique Roman virtues; see above, nn. 95, 105, 117. Tacitus, *Ann.* XIII 56, places in the mouth of a governor of Lower Germany, Dubius Avitus, a speech in which he urges the land-hungry Ampsivari to submit to Roman rule in A.D. 58, and includes the following statement: *patienda meliorum imperia; id dis, quos implorarent, placitum, ut arbitrium penes Romanos maneret, quid darent, quid adimerent, neque alios iudices quam se ipsos paterentur*. Capelle, (n. 88) 97-98, takes *meliorum* in the sense of morally better and argues that Tacitus here supports the Panaetian-Ciceronian justification for Roman rule. He compares Livy XXII 13 11 (above, n. 118). Seel, on the other hand, (n. 82) 69-71, regards *meliorum* as equivalent to "stronger"



and connects Tacitus with Posidonius and Horace as an advocate of a pragmatic justification which he distinguishes from the ethical one of Panaetius, see above, n. 88. Both Capelle, p. 99, and Seel, pp. 71-72, adduce in support of their views Seneca *Epist. Mor.* 90 4-5, in which Posidonius is cited for the view that in the golden age rule was not by law but by the decision of the "better," *commissi melioris arbitrio*. Seel attempts to distinguish between Posidonius' "mythischen Ideal" and Seneca's "gültiges Naturgesetz" on the basis of Seneca's phrase: *naturae est enim potioribus deteriora submittere*. But the general tone of the passage seems to make Seneca agree with Posidonius in identifying *melioris* with *optimum*, *rector*, and *sapiens*; terms which amount approximately to Cicero's ideal of the *princeps* in *De Rep.* V, above, n. 111. One difficulty in discussing Tacitus, as with Thucydides, above, n. 37, is to determine how far views placed in the mouths of historical personages represent the historian's own opinion and how far simply what he thought that the personages in question should say. Thus the famous remark in *Agr.* 30 7 that the Romans falsely call plundering, slaughter, and seizure "empire" and where they make a desert, they name it peace, *auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*, is placed in the mouth of the British chief Calgacus when he harangues his troops for their last stand against Agricola at *Mons Graupius*. It does not follow, as Seel (n. 82) 70-72 holds, that Tacitus realized what Rome's rule meant for her subjects; see also Christ (n. 72) 195-196, who compares Tacitus and Juvenal in this respect.

<sup>127</sup> M. Hammond, "The Political Thought of Pliny the Younger," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XLIX (1938) 115-140, especially p. 117 on the superiority of Romans to others and pp. 121-129 on the emperor.

<sup>128</sup> Bury (n. 48) 28-30; Kohn in *Enc. Brit.* (n. 3) XL 121 and in his *World Order in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass., Harv. Univ. Press, 1942) 114-127; K. Jäntere, *Die römische Weltreichsidee und die Entstehung der weltlichen Macht des Papsts* (*Annales Universitatis Turkuensis = Turun Yliopiston Julkaisuja*, listed in the Union List of Periodicals as *Aabo* [=Turku], *Suomalainen Yliopisto*, series B, vol. XXI, Turku, 1936).

<sup>129</sup> The position of the Epicureans seems to have been anti-imperialistic, see Nestle (n. 32) 237, with reference to R. Philippson, "Die Rechtsphilosophie der Epicureer," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* XXIII (1910) 289-337, 433-446. Philippson deals mainly with the views of Epicurus on the nature of justice and the function of the state; in pp. 308-309, he discusses Epicurus' criticism of political ambition, with a citation of Lucretius V 1120-1121, a criticism which might by implication extend to imperialism. Professor E. Havelock remarked in conversation that Lucretius' description of the origins of the social order in bk. V is anti-imperialistic, note especially lines 1-53 for a criticism of the Stoic hero Herakles, pacifier of the world, as against Epicurus' rational conquest of the mind, and lines 1105-1160, where he criticizes ambition and the desire for power; see Cochrane (n. 110) 37-38. On the other hand, Christ, (n. 72) 184-

185, finds in the prayer to Venus for peace for Rome, bk. I line 40 (see also Christ p. 105), the first clear appearance in Roman poetry of the ecumenical concept of Rome's rule. Christ also sees admiration for Rome in Lucretius' lines on her revival after the Hannibalic War, III 836-837; see above, n. 95, for Lucretius' pessimistic strain as regards his own times. Conflicting views appear in Roman poetry that on the one hand the Roman state is eternal, Christ 59-64, and on the other transitory, Christ 65-68, 70-72; compare above, n. 101, for Scipio the Younger and Cicero. Seel, (n. 82) 33-37, calls attention to the conflict between the individual and the state in Horace, a recurrent problem in Roman literature and one which goes back to the breakdown of the city-state in the fourth and even fifth centuries B.C.; see Nestle (n. 32) 235. Cromer, (n. 4) 22 n. 1, refers to Florus *Epitome* I 47, the summary of Rome's expansion, where he wonders whether Rome's imperial mission has not in fact been her ruin.

<sup>130</sup> Cromer, (n. 4) 126 n. 1, quotes the Duke of Wellington: "If ever we lose India, it will be Parliament that will lose it for us." Cromer, pp. 126-127, opposes any ultimate surrender of the British supremacy in India.

<sup>131</sup> The earliest example of "might is right" in English seems to be from an early fourteenth-century political song, published by T. Wright for the Camden Society in his *Political Songs of England, etc.* (London, Nichol, 1839) 254; see B. Stevenson, *The Home Book of Quotations* (ed. 5, New York, Dodd Mead, 1947) 1303-1304 under "might, 21," who dates in 1311, and W. G. Smith, *The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1935) 297 under "might," who dates about 1327. Stevenson gives, as the origin of the remark, Jowett's translation of Thrasyarchus in Plato's *Republic* I 338C: "I proclaim that might is right, justice the interest of the stronger"; see ed. 1871 vol. II 158. But a comparison with the Greek, quoted above, n. 39, shows that Jowett arbitrarily inserted "might is right" and these words are omitted in ed. 3 (1892) vol. III 15. Lord Rosebery's comment is given by Hobson (n. 6) 160, see above, n. 12.

<sup>132</sup> Rut. Namat. I 91; see the edition by C. H. Keene (London, Bell, 1907), who on p. 7 dates the journey of Rutilius to Gaul, which the poem relates, in A.D. 416. Recent scholars have, however, settled on 417 A.D., see the edition by J. Vessereau and F. Préchac (Paris: *Les Belles-Lettres*, 1933) xii-xiii and the literature there cited. In general, see Ida Cirino, *L'Idea di Roma negli Scrittori Latini e particolarmente in Rutilio Namaziano* (Naples, Loffredo, 1934).

<sup>133</sup> Above, n. 19.

<sup>134</sup> Cyrus conquered the Medes in 549 B.C., Gray in *Cam. Anc. Hist.* IV (1926) 7. The forces of Xerxes were turned back from the high-water mark of conquest at Plataea and Mycale in 479 B.C., Munro in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* IV 340-341. Darius was found dying by Alexander's troops in Bactria in the spring of 330 B.C., Robinson (n. 49) 140-141.

<sup>135</sup> The date for the foundation of Augustus' principate may be taken

variously as the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C., the Restoration of the Republic in 28/27 B.C., or the final settlement in 23 B.C.; see Hammond, *Aug. Princ.* (n. 106) 246 n. 14. The western empire is traditionally regarded as having come to an end with the deposition of Romulus Augustulus in 476 A.D. and the eastern with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 A.D.

<sup>136</sup> The break between the Roman and the Byzantine empire is variously dated from Constantine, 306-337 A.D., for instance, by Cary (n. 80) following the *Camb. Anc. and Mediaeval Histories*, to Justinian, 521-565 A.D., for instance, by A. E. R. Boak, *A History of Rome to 565 A.D.* (ed. 3, New York, Macmillan, 1943).

<sup>137</sup> Above, p. 115; the doctrine is most clearly expressed by Aristotle, *Politics* III 13 12, 1283 b 42-1284 a 3. Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique* (Paris, Hachette, ed. 16, 1898) 239, thought that the inability of the ancients to think beyond the limits of the city-state was due to the self-sufficiency of the religion of the city-state, which did not permit of the extension of such things as communal meals, etc. beyond its limits. Professor Ferguson suggests that the ultimate failure of the Roman empire to preserve popular sovereignty at the imperial level was to some degree balanced by the vigorous civic life in the municipalities, which the emperors encouraged and established throughout the empire; see such books as J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, University Press, 1913); A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1937), and *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940); A. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (n. 122). But these municipalities were in fact run by oligarchic cliques of the well-to-do who could afford public office, with its heavy financial obligations, and who made what profit was to be made therefrom. In the end, the well-to-do were ruined in consequence of their selfishness since the central government, as it got into financial difficulties, increasingly held them responsible for the payment of the ever more burdensome taxes; see M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (n. 108; the latest edition is the Italian, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1933) throughout; S. Dill, *Roman Society in the last century of the Western Empire* (ed. 2, London, Macmillan, 1906) 227-281; F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1926) 197-231. The recent economic historians of the ancient world hold, in fact, that the failure of "classical" society may be attributed to this selfishness of the well-to-do who perverted the doctrine, fundamental to the orthodox theory of the city-state, that wealth imposed an obligation of public service to the view that the privilege and profit of public office should be a prerogative of the rich; see Hammond, "Economic Stagnation" (n. 108) 85-86 (ruin of well-to-do in cities by taxation), 88-89 (views of Frank, Rostovtzeff, and Heichelheim).

<sup>138</sup> Haarhoff (n. 48) 104-118, with further references in his notes; E. Barker

in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* VI (1927) 506-509; see above, n. 22, especially Zimmern's article "Ath. and Am."

<sup>139</sup> Ulpian, in Justinian's *Dig.* I 4 1 pr. (compare *Inst. Iust.* I 2 6), attributed the *imperium* of the emperor to the *lex* (? *regia*) which conferred it upon him. Augustus had derived his powers from at least formal votes by the assemblies, Hammond, *Aug. Princ.* (n. 106) 25-28, but by the end of the second century, when Ulpian wrote, it is hardly likely that even a formal popular vote survived, though the senate, in lieu of the people, continued to confirm the power in fact bestowed by the acclaim of the troops or determined by hereditary succession.

<sup>140</sup> Divine sanction for the imperial power only became explicit in the third century A.D., Alföldi in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* XII (1939) 194, 204; Mattingly on p. 309; Toynbee (n. 23) 484.

<sup>141</sup> Hammond, "Economic Stagnation" (n. 108) 90, with further references in n. 107.

<sup>142</sup> Toynbee, (n. 23) 317-318, attributes the failure of what he calls the Hellenic Society (that of Greece and Rome together) in part to its "idolization of an ephemeral institution," namely the city-state. See also pp. 183-184 for his criticism of the mass production of city-states in the Hellenistic and Roman world, which simply perpetuated a form without substance and which depended for such vitality as the cities had on the support of non-citizen native labor. He classifies this idolization of the city-state as a utopia and holds that utopias are usually static in character and are simply attempts to arrest the disintegration of a declining civilization. On pp. 361-363, he quotes a passage from Macaulay's *Essay on History* in which it is claimed that the exclusiveness of the Greeks and Romans brought them almost to the stagnant condition of such "petrified societies" as Egypt and Greece; a fate from which they were saved by the internal, moral revolution of Christianity and the external challenge of the barbarian tribes. On p. 549, he regards the concepts of Concord (*Homonöia*) and a World Commonwealth in the thought of Alexander and the Stoics as a symptom of an attempt to rally the disintegration of the Hellenic Society.





## THE ORIGIN OF THE LATIN *NOMEN GENTILICIVM*

BY ERNST PULGRAM

THE most striking peculiarity of Latin personal names lies not in the fact of the legally prescribed *tria nomina*, or in the peculiar form of the appellations, or in the use of the *cognomen* and *agnomen*, but rather in the rise of inherited family-names which correspond to our own surnames. In this respect the Latin name somehow does not fit into its time, but seems rather to be in advance of it, if we are allowed, as without doubt we are, to call this innovation in nomenclature an advancement.

In Latin anthroponymy the number of different *praenomina*, that is, of the true conventional individual names, is drastically kept to about a score, more or less, and the emphasis is shifted to the family-name, the *nomen gentile*. This situation reminds us of modern European names, the essential part of which, whether we like it or not, is the surname, and not the given, that is, the individual or baptismal name. Hence alphabetical lists for any purpose, private or official, always are arranged by the initial of the surname. So also in Latin: *nomen* refers always to the *nomen gentile* and not to the *praenomen* or any other part of a person's official or unofficial appellation. This divergence from an onomastic system or systems previously in use amounts to abandoning a single individual name in favor of a more complex and more precise designation. Since we have come to regard the Latin name as existing habitually in this particular pattern only; since we are, at the same time, aware of the likelihood, if not certainty, of another simpler mode of nomenclature which must have preceded this historical type, we are led to wonder what traces, if any, of the simple individual name we might be able to discover in Italic territory.<sup>1</sup>

The report of an *incertus auctor*, allegedly based on Varro of Reate, notes: "Varro simplicia in Italia fuisse nomina ait existi-

<sup>1</sup>I use the term Italic here advisedly, for in principle the Italic name does not diverge from the Latin name proper in form and usage.

mationisque suae argumentum refert, quòd Romulus et Remus et Faustulus neque praenomen ullum neque cognomen habuerint.”<sup>2</sup> Mommsen set this testimony aside, claiming that the argument is based on the “spät und schlecht erfundene Romulussage.”<sup>3</sup> It may be true that the Romulus-legend is a late and bad invention, but we have other evidence that confirms and supplements the three examples cited by the *incertus auctor*. There is the Praenestine fibula which clearly gives two individual names: *Manius med fhefhaked Numasioi*, and there is the Duenos-inscription: *Duenos med feked*. In Oscan (but not in Umbrian or Faliscan) there is similar testimony. Friedrich Leo assumed that also in Umbrian the single name was common, basing his argument on the name of a renowned Umbrian, Plautus.<sup>4</sup> To him Plautus is a young provincial from Sarsina, named *Titus*, who, when he came to the city of Rome, distinguished himself from all the other *Titi* in Rome, by means of a new name, *Plautus*.<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, it must be admitted that our records of simple names all over Italy and particularly in Latin territory are very sparse. There is not one inscription from the *urbs* proper containing an individual name. We find ourselves, therefore, in the awkward position of having to arrive at some conclusion concerning certain onomastic forms of which the documentation is, mainly because of the remoteness of the period, unsatisfactory. It is also unlikely that we shall ever have enough inscriptions to represent all classes of people: for, whereas it is obvious that not all kinds of people bear the same kind of names, as both the history of personal names and even our own present situation clearly show, the names of the “lower” classes, that is of the most numerous strata of society, are for social and financial reasons disproportionately under-represented in our records, and presumably this will always be so. But it is quite

<sup>2</sup> *Incerti auctoris liber de praenominibus de nominibus de cognominibus de agnominibus de appellationibus de uerbis in epitomen redactus a Iulio Paride*, I 1. To be found in Valerius Maximus, ed. Kempf, 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1888, pp. 587 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Theodor Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen* (Berlin, 1864) I 5.

<sup>4</sup> Friedrich Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen* (2nd ed. Berlin, 1912) 81 ff.

<sup>5</sup> For Leo's explanation of *Maccius*, see *op. cit.*, 81 ff.

permissible to ask: What was the onomastic situation most likely to have been in Rome in early republican days?

In the course of a long investigation, which need not be repeated here step by step, it has become clear to me that primitive names are nothing more than nouns used *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Broadly considered, this statement is hardly likely to arouse controversy. It would indicate, moreover, that the oldest Italic names were not the *tria nomina*, or even the *duo nomina* of historical times, but simply a single *nomen*. Further, one may not assume that at the time at which Indo-European-speaking peoples supplanted previous occupants of Italy, whoever those may have been, they brought with them an elaborate system of nomenclature. For the period into which the settlement of Italy by the speakers of Indo-European falls is so remote that it both antedates writing there, and, presumably, was accompanied by a rather primitive stage of civilization and social organization.

We cannot expect to have at our disposal any written evidence that stems from prehistoric days, since the art of writing was spread in Italy only by the Etruscans, and, in the southeastern part of the peninsula, by the Greeks of the Chalcidian colonies.<sup>6</sup> The oldest inscriptions native to Italy are of the seventh or late eighth century B.C., two (as we should expect) Etruscan funerary inscriptions, one from the "Tomba del Guerriero," the other from the "Tomba del Duce." Next in age come the East Italic ("Sabellic") inscriptions from Picenum which, to this day, have withstood all attempts at interpretation. These are difficult to date, but belong most likely somewhere in the seventh and sixth centuries. Finally we have, dated on archaeological grounds as of the sixth or late seventh century, the brooch from Praeneste already mentioned, followed at an interval of at least a century by the famous Forum inscription.<sup>7</sup> That the art of writing as such is older than these oldest specimens of continuous writing follows from the more ancient *abecedaria*, all of which, except two, come again from Etruscan territory.

The dating of the Etruscan arrival in Italy constitutes a vexed

<sup>6</sup> See Joshua Whatmough, *Foundations of Roman Italy* (London, 1937) 96 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *CIL* I, 2nd ed., Pars II, fasc. I, 1918, no. 1.

problem. Traces of Etruscan civilization begin to appear among the "southern Villanovans" about the middle of the ninth century B.C.<sup>8</sup> Since the art of writing does not, in Italy, precede the Etruscans, we have no prospect of obtaining Indo-European written evidence earlier than the ninth century, although Italy was already settled by Indo-European-speaking tribes before that date. But these early inhabitants were presumably illiterate. If, therefore, we refuse to accept as conclusive the admittedly meager evidence of the simple names that we now possess, beginning with the seventh or sixth century and the Praenestine fibula, we must at the same time not expect to be better informed by new discoveries stemming from an earlier period. True, to say that the usage of single names on the brooch and a few other finds is accidental and gives no clue as to the actual situation, is a perfectly justified objection; after all, even in classical times a man may be referred to by one name only, especially among friends, and also when he is a member of a lower social stratum, always when a slave. And perhaps we should incline to regard flimsy evidence as more fallacious than a plausible, intelligent hypothesis. Even if the few examples of single names we possess were trustworthy evidence, we still should not know whether, at the time of the fibula, we find ourselves at the beginning (which is quite unlikely), at the height, or in the period of decadence of this particular onomastic habit. The records we have at our disposal are, then, not decisive in arriving at a satisfactory answer as to the use of single names. All we can say is that, since writing in Italy is not so much older than the earliest examples we have at hand, we should not look for any considerable amount of further information based on more ancient documents.

We are, therefore, left almost exactly at the point from which we started, namely, of trying to solve our problem concerning single names in Italy almost by speculation only. In doing so we may justifiably apply evidence of a general onomastic nature to Italy also, and assume, therefore, the existence of single, individual names as personal appellations of the ancient Indo-European-speaking settlers of the peninsula.

The questions then arise: (1) When did these individual names

<sup>8</sup> Whatmough, *op. cit.*, 213 ff.; other authorities put it a century later.



begin to be supplanted by more than one name for a person, or, at least, what is our earliest evidence of this change? And (2) why was such a drastic change performed, while other peoples were still content with a single name and long persisted in this custom, or at times merely added, but under no obligation to do so, some sort of non-inheritable patronymic, more or less *ad maiorem gloriam* of its bearer? The two problems turn out to be interwoven, as we shall see.

We have already taken care not to consider the Praenestine fibula and similar sporadic records as sure evidence as to the prevalence, or decadence, or even the continued existence of single names in Italy.<sup>9</sup> That leaves us, unfortunately, with hardly any foothold. If we had ample evidence of simple names for the pre-Etruscan periods in Italy, then we might assume that the double, or triple, name was introduced by the Etruscans. Since we have not, we could just as easily presume either that the single name had ceased to be customary in Italy long before the Etruscan invasion, or that the habit of *duo nomina* or *tria nomina* is no older than our oldest record of it. Unfortunately, genuine Roman tradition is scanty; and again, are we justified in accepting such names as *Ascanius*, *Silvius*, *Atys*, *Capys*, *Romulus*, *Remus*, *Rea Silvia* as true and genuine renditions of the originals? Or were they only later reconstructed after the likeness of then current names? What is genuine tradition and what later remodeling? This doubt is probably what Mommsen meant when he referred to the illusory evidence of the "late and badly invented" Romulus-legend.

The facts are, then, that we possess virtually no trustworthy evidence as to the shape of the Italic name around 400 B.C., when inscriptions begin to testify to the spread of dual names throughout Italy. The Romans themselves, with the exception of only two authors, apparently found their names not so very peculiar, although they should have done so as soon as they came in contact with nations outside of Italy. The Etruscan names, in spite of the difference of the two peoples in origin, language, and culture, largely coincide in

<sup>9</sup> For the opposite view see Bruno Doer, *Die römische Namengebung* (Stuttgart, 1937) 22.



form and usage with Latin names. But it can hardly be thought astonishing if peculiarity and queerness are found always abroad and not in one's own country. Why call attention to anything so obvious as one's own names? There were, however, recorded two ancient authors who turned over in their minds the problem of the Italic *multiplicatio nominum*. One is the already mentioned *Incertus Auctor*, the other is Priscian.

"Romanos autem arbitrandum est ab Albanis et Sabinis multiplicandorum nominum consuetudinem traxisse, quoniam ab illis orti sunt."<sup>10</sup> "Praenomen est quod praeponitur nomini uel differentiae causa uel quod tempore, quo Sabinos Romani ascuerunt ciuitati, ad confirmandam coniunctionem nomina illorum suis praeponebant nominibus et inuicem Sabini Romanorum. Et ex illo consuetudo tenuit, ut nemo Romanus sit absque praenomine."<sup>11</sup>

It is not remarkable that both authors agree on the Sabine origin of the custom, since the *incertus auctor* is said to depend on Varro, himself of Sabine origin. Whether they both drew their knowledge from one and the same source cannot be ascertained; but their two statements diverge enough from one another in other details to make this doubtful. The reader will also recall that according to Livy<sup>12</sup> the Sabine called *Attus Clausus* was known at Rome as *Appius Claudius*. At any rate, Priscian's *differentiae causa* we shall do well to keep in mind. But we have another source which, if not explicitly, at least by implication locates the *multiplicatio nominum*, without so calling it, in the Sabine country. Livy, following the late and anachronistic reconstruction accepted in his own day, when speaking of the genealogy of the Silvian dynasty of Alba Longa,<sup>13</sup> construes the family-tree in such a manner that the first two sovereigns in the line have one name, from the third on they bear the *gentilicium* Siluius. "Mansit Siluius postea omnibus cognomen qui Albae reg-

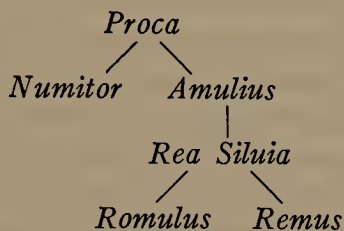
<sup>10</sup> *Incertus auctor*, *op. cit.*, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Priscian, *Gr. L.* II 57 K.

<sup>12</sup> II 16.4.

<sup>13</sup> I 3.6. Cf. Schwegler *RG I* (1853) 339. The royal names *Ancus Martius*, *Numa Pompilius*, *Tullus Hostilius* might also be compared, as Professor Bloch points out to me.

nauerunt." <sup>14</sup> The dynasty continues after Romulus Siluius who "Auentino fulmine ipse ictus regnum per manus tradidit": <sup>15</sup>



The mother of the twins obviously belongs, as her name indicates, to a *gens Siluia*. Is it, therefore, permissible to add to the name of her father and uncle and grandfather, as well as to that of her sons, the gentilicium *Siluius*? That would eliminate some more single names, including those cited by the *incertus auctor*. However, the nomenclature as introduced by later writers must be considered doubtful. Yet there is one factor which we should keep in mind: that the double name again takes its origin in the Sabine country. According to Livy's genealogy, it was the individual name of Siluius which became, from the next generation on, a *gentilicium*.<sup>16</sup> This is a remarkable fact; for such is exactly the procedure frequently to be observed in the derivation of our modern family-names — someone's individual name became, centuries ago, for one or more of several reasons, the new surname of his descendants for all times, who, in their turn, added new individual, i.e., given, names to the hereditary appellation. That the *gentilicium*, however, was not considered the *nomen* in those early days, is also stated by Livy himself: "Mansit Siluius postea omnibus cognomen."<sup>17</sup> But it is evident that *cognomen* here is not to be understood in the official, technical sense of later years, but rather simply as 'byname.' Similarly, the earliest European surnames during the Middle Ages were rather bynames,

<sup>14</sup> Livy I 3.8.

<sup>15</sup> Livy I 3.9.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Wilhelm Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Abhandlungen der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philosophisch-historische Klasse, N.F. V.2, Berlin, 1904) 371 and 65.

<sup>17</sup> Livy I 3.8.

nicknames added to the individual names. Incontestable proof of this fact is that alphabetical lists were still arranged by order of given names.<sup>18</sup> We realize, then, that the manner in which Livy describes the origin of a *gentilicium* is in itself probable, and also finds a counterpart in more recent times. If we are willing to credit his authority on this point, should we not also accept the other factor, that is, the Sabine source of the double name? We should, then, on the authority of Livy, of Priscian, and of the *incertus auctor*, have to put the origin of the double name in Alba Longa somewhere in the eleventh or twelfth century B.C., that is, preceding Romulus and the foundation of Rome by twelve generations, in Livy's reckoning, and its importation into Rome in the middle of the seventh century B.C., that is, the time of the subjugation of the Sabines after the fall of Alba Longa, which was followed by extensive settlement of Sabine families in Rome. In accepting this theory we presuppose the correctness of two assumptions: first, that among the Sabines *Aeneas Siluius* was the first, or at least among the first, to bear a double name — otherwise our tentative date of the eleventh or twelfth century, calculated by the number of generations after Aeneas Siluius, is to be revised; second, that the Romans actually did learn the use of double names from the Sabines.

As for the first assumption, it is not only conceivable but even probable that a new fashion of naming, in this instance the acquisition of a family-name, should come in with a sovereign ruler, or at least in a higher stratum of society, and spread thence among the people by sheer imitation of the ways of the great and the rich. This is true also for modern European surnames which were, first of all, borne by the aristocrats and the high and mighty in the land, and only in the course of centuries reached the bourgeoisie and the peasants. As for the second assumption, it only begs the question. For while we can see that, in consequence of the mingling of the two tribes, the Romans, who had obtained the leadership of the Latin league, might well not refuse to adopt as their own a sensible and, in view of the growth of their sphere of influence and the increase in

<sup>18</sup> See Adolf Socin, *Mittelhochdeutsches Namenbuch, nach oberrheinischen Quellen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Basel, 1903) 678.

population, practical system of naming, we cannot quite see why exactly the Sabines or Albans should already have possessed such a system previously. Was there, in their small territories, any necessity for double names to make them invent this means of identification by family and individual? Hardly. Or did they simply learn it from someone else, accepting the custom either voluntarily or having it imposed upon them by force? Perhaps. But, in the latter event, who taught the Albans and Sabines? Whereas we have admitted the possibility that the Romans were not the first Italici of Indo-European tongue to use multiple names, we are still confronted with the puzzle from whom the Italic tribes learned the new system, or, if it grew as their own custom, why it did so.

If we compare, as we have done profitably in the course of this argument so far, the Italic situation with that in Europe after the ninth century of our era, we should have to assume certain reasons as the compelling force in the establishment and spread of a new onomastic system. One is the desire on the part of the aristocratic classes of a society to perpetuate the glory of the clan and to incorporate family pride and tradition in the possession of a family-name and of heraldic arms, so that everyone could with little effort realize just what kind of people those were who bore the name *X*: they are descendants of the first *X*, consequently their existence as a family goes back so many years or centuries, and there are so many outstanding *X*'s in the history of the country; these are very excellent people indeed! Hence the innovation lies with the higher classes and is primarily and originally intended to be a sign of social distinction. Another *raison d'être* for the double name is that of easier identification of an individual in a society comprising large numbers. There are many Johns, there are fewer John Smiths, and even fewer John Adam Smiths, and indeed very few John Adam Smith III's, and so *ad infinitum* — or at least as far as practical, or acceptable to fashion.

Now the first-named urge, the aristocratic one, is present in any society, anywhere, at any time. Surely it was present among the Sabines. But also, by the same token, among the Romans, Umbrians, Volscians. However, the second force, that of administrative neces-



sity, was, as far as we can judge now, hardly present in any of the comparatively small tribes of Italy. Necessity, to be sure, is a relative concept; and how are we to decide now whether and where the need for surnames was considered pressing in the middle of the first millennium B.C. in Italy? Still, we do not really quite see why the Albans or Sabines should possess the new custom while other nations in exactly the same circumstances did not. But there is still one question left which we may ask ourselves to shed light on our problem: was there in Italy, among the non-Indo-European tribes, one which might have been influential enough to produce an onomastic revolution (for that is what it amounts to), in whose case both the above mentioned most potent factors for the introduction of surnames might apply?

The first fact to strike us is that Etruscan inscriptions, consisting mostly of names, show very distinctly the existence of double and triple names.<sup>19</sup> Naturally, we conclude, here is finally the source of the Italic proper name, and therein lies the reason why the latter is so different from that of other contemporary Indo-European-speaking peoples. The Romans and the Sabines and all the rest appropriated the onomastic customs of those foreigners. And there the matter has rested for many investigators.

Three objections threaten this hypothesis. First, how and why did the Etruscans use double names? (It has been indicated above that they apparently fulfilled the two main conditions. But this contention will have to be elaborated.) Second, if they imported them into Italy, should we not perhaps find traces of this custom in their original homeland, that is, somewhere in Asia Minor? (This we do not. See below.) Third, how do we know with certainty that it was not, after all, the Etruscan people who acquired the custom in imitation of the Italic tribes instead of the other way around? (We have no absolute knowledge based on documentation, but we can construct a plausible and reasonable hypothesis. See below.)

The archaeological and linguistic evidence which is at our disposal<sup>20</sup> suggests that Etruscans in Italy never formed a large

<sup>19</sup> Cp. p. 180 below.

<sup>20</sup> For an analysis see Whatmough, *op. cit.*, 224 ff.



population numerically. "It must not be supposed that they came as a vast conquering host. Rather it would seem that they arrived in small detachments of a few at a time, perhaps just one or two ships every year. Very probably they had been exploring all round the Mediterranean for some generations before they decided on the place where it was most profitable to settle."<sup>21</sup> Most likely is the view that they managed to make themselves the overlords of the peoples whom they subjugated on Italian soil. Randall-MacIver compares them with the Normans in England after the Conquest. The comparison may be carried further, I think, inasmuch as in Italy as well as in England the conquered people were ultimately to gain the upper hand, not without having adopted much of the culture, speech, and the way of life in general of their temporary masters. Just who those conquered people of Italy were is not known now. But it is quite safe to assume that the majority of them spoke Indo-European languages and had come into the peninsula from eastern and central Europe across the Alps. For it is scarcely possible that these Indo-European-speaking people, of whose existence we are absolutely certain, came into Italy later than the Etruscans. Archaeological evidence, as well as common sense, contradicts any such assumption. It is not impossible, however, that, when the Etruscans landed on the western shores of the peninsula, they found there a population which spoke "a Mediterranean language not altogether unrelated to their own."<sup>22</sup> This fact alone must have facilitated their task of colonizing the conquered territory; but, in addition, they were undoubtedly culturally superior to the indigenous population (whatever that implies in Italy). Their attempts at colonizing all of Italy and to unite the country under their leadership never fully materialized for various reasons, "chief among which seems to have been a rapid degeneracy which may have been due to the crippling effects of a caste-system favoured by the Etruscans themselves."<sup>23</sup> If we apply to this eminently aristocratic society, superimposed upon a population in all respects inferior to its masters, the sociological

<sup>21</sup> David Randall-MacIver, *The Etruscans* (Oxford, 1927) 13.

<sup>22</sup> Whatmough, *op. cit.*, 232.

<sup>23</sup> Whatmough, *op. cit.*, 235.

principle that names respond to the demands of social distinction, we may easily recognize that the task of the Etruscan patronymic or family-name was to identify the Etruscans among the "natives." An Etruscan had a family, and a family-name, a "native" had not.<sup>24</sup>

All this seems plausible enough, but it may be a somewhat feeble argument for making the Etruscans responsible for the importation of multiple names into Italy. However, in connection with other evidence, it cannot very well be refuted; for, as we have seen, we are dealing with the application of a universally valid principle of a social nature. But, as already observed, the same argument for the introduction of family-names could be advanced in the case of the Italic tribes themselves, even though, as we have also pointed out, its strength may there be less compelling since we are dealing with smaller units and with the efforts of an internal aristocracy at work within the tribes, which might employ less authoritative and harsh measures to create and keep alive a social distinction.

But the failure to provide, even though we shall try to provide, a satisfactory answer to the second objection may easily prove more detrimental to the theory under discussion. The connection of the Etruscans with Asia Minor may be considered established beyond any reasonable doubt.<sup>25</sup> When I first concerned myself with the problem of the influence of Etruscan onomastics on Italic, I planned to seek the type of the Etruscan name in Asia Minor. By locating there, somewhere among the numerous non-Indo-European tribes, an onomastic system reminiscent of the Etruscan and the Italic system, I should, I thought, be able to build a bridge, as it were, from Asia Minor to Italy, with the Etruscans the carriers of what was to become an innovation in Italy. Hopefully I set about studying Etruscan names and the names of peoples of Anatolian lands, especially those inhabited by non-Indo-European peoples.<sup>26</sup> My efforts were

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Paul Kretschmer, *Die Sprache*, in Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung*, ed. 3, I 112.

<sup>25</sup> See Whatmough, *op. cit.*, chapter IX, *passim*; and Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> Carians, Lydians, Mysians, Lycians, Pisidians, Isaurians, Lycaonians, Cilicians, Cappadocians; the speakers of Indo-European languages in this area

largely thwarted, mainly by lack of sufficient material. Moreover, nearly every author who dealt with the subject theoretically had his own *Q.E.D.* firmly in mind when he started the discussion, and diametrically opposed opinions came to be aired.

As for the classification of the Anatolian non-Indo-European languages, they form a linguistic family all by themselves, neither Indo-European, nor Semitic.<sup>27</sup> To such a family indeed Etruscan also may belong. Are we confronted with the much discussed Mediterranean stratum? Apparently Etruscan and Lydian have a considerable number of linguistic bonds; they have "not only *-(a)l* as a genitival ending, but also *-s* or *-š* (apparently as an alternative), and, what is more striking, a combining of both endings, Etruscan *-ls* and *-lš* and Lydian *-λs*. Again, compare the Etruscan *purθne* and *eprθni*, an official title, with Greek *πρύτανις*, *βρυτανήιον* (where the very alternation of *π* and *β* is significant). Both Etruscan and Lydian show a formant *-aχ* (*-ac*) and *-ak* used in building up family names, and if the *δαρ*-element in *Τίνδαρος*, *Τινδαρίδαι* is equivalent, as Kretschmer holds, to the Etruscan *-θur* or *-tur* (*velθur*),<sup>28</sup> then *Tiv-* (or *Tuv-*) may be identified with *tin*, the Etruscan name of Jupiter. The Etruscan *-c* and the Lydian *-k* both meaning 'and' also appear identical. It is not improbable that *Τύραννος* (again not Indo-European), the Lydian local name *Τύρσα*, *Turnus*, *Τυρσᾶνοί* (*Τυρρηνοί*),<sup>29</sup> *Tuscus* (older *\*turs-co-*) *E-trus-cus*, and *turan* (the Etruscan name of Venus, literally 'the tyrant-goddess') all belong together. To this list of comparisons, coincidences possibly, many others might be added."<sup>30</sup>

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are the Phrygians and the Bithynians. See Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1896) 370.

<sup>27</sup> See Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, 292.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Carl Pauli, "Die etruskischen Familiennamen auf *-tura* u.s.w.," *Bezzenbergers Beiträge* XXV 1900, 194 ff., and, by the same author, "Die etruskischen Familiennamen auf *-tru*," *Bezzenbergers Beiträge* XXVI 1900, 48 ff. According to Pauli, *-θur(a)* corresponds to Greek *-γέρης* and *-tur* to Greek *-δοπος* (cp. *turce* 'dedit'). The first part of these compositions is always a divine name. [My note.]

<sup>29</sup> For a legendary explanation of this name see Herodotus I 94. [My note.]

<sup>30</sup> Whatmough, *op. cit.*, 231. [Cf. perhaps *trossulus* 'grandee,' in Persius, who was of Etruscan descent. J. W.H.]

These agreements are, of course, striking, and in their sum, together with others, they constitute an impressive argument for the Anatolian extraction of Etruscan. However, we are here interested not in the relationship of the languages — that we presuppose — but in possible facts that might show us an agreement of onomastic systems. As the borrowing of words must be strictly separated from syntactical borrowing, so the borrowing of a name, significant as it may be in other respects, is an altogether different matter from the acceptance of a new system of naming. Words and names are easily borrowed, incorporated into, and assimilated to, a language. Syntactical features and the usage of names are, as experience shows and common sense dictates, not of such migratory character: they cannot be, since they involve not only vocabulary, that is, largely the mnemonic aspect of speech, but also certain peculiar ways of thought and expression, that is, a mental, psychological attitude. While, therefore, linguistic agreements of another order are most welcome to us, because, after all, they do testify to a certain connection between the areas in which we are interested, we may not consider them valid enough proofs for anything beyond this type of external influence. These external features which two languages possess in common do not entitle us to infer a more profound or intimate, psychological sort of relationship. Similarly, the mutual influence of Etruscan and Latin restricts itself mainly to borrowing, that is, rather to superficialities.<sup>31</sup> But there are, at least in the matter of onomastics, more far-reaching relations which will largely determine our answer to the third objection.

To demonstrate a connection close enough between Anatolian languages and Etruscan to establish kinship in more than vocabulary and, perhaps, phonology and morphology, it will be necessary to examine the languages syntactically. And in this field the obstacles are well nigh insurmountable. How can we discuss syntax if we cannot read the documents? Yet there may be a few details that can be salvaged. Let us consider, for example, the matter of grammatical gender. While all Indo-European languages possess at least two

<sup>31</sup> See Körte-Skutsch in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. *Etrusker*, 766.



genders, Etruscan shows none.<sup>32</sup> Neither divine names, nor the common nouns the meaning of which has been established, justify the assumption of grammatical gender. So far as we know, the languages of Asia Minor, in particular Lycian, do not know it either.<sup>33</sup> There are, for example, among Anatolian names many which can be correctly employed equally well to designate either men or women.<sup>34</sup> But for Lydian it has been said<sup>35</sup> that two genders may be distinguished among common nouns, one characterized by the ending *-s* the other by *-d*. However, in the case of persons the ending is always *-s*. It seems then that proper nouns also in Lydian were not distinguished by gender. As for "lall-names"<sup>36</sup> which are so highly preponderant in Asia Minor, little or no trace can be discovered of them in Etruscan. There are, indeed, some nouns which may be so classified, but such occur in any language. It is the striking prevalence that we find in Asia Minor, for which we look in vain in Etruria. Most Anatolian names have suffixes,<sup>37</sup> and so do Etruscan names. But if we wish to determine the meaning and function of them, we once more find ourselves disappointed: we do not know how to go about that task unless we first learn something of the languages. Suffixes to indicate the cases, of which we have a fairly good picture, are of no assistance, for they have degenerated into mere flectional endings and belong to morphology. A peculiarity of Anatolian nomenclature consists in certain prefixes whose meaning and function again we do not know.<sup>38</sup> There is no evidence of these in Etruscan.

A great deal of weight has been given the occurrence of matro-

<sup>32</sup> See Eva Fiesel, "Das grammatische Geschlecht im Etruskischen," *Forschungen zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*, 7tes Heft (Göttingen, 1922) 113.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Ernst Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris conlecti* (Vindobona, 1901) 8.

<sup>34</sup> Johannes Sundwall, "Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier nebst einem Verzeichnis kleinasiatischer Namenstämme," *Klio*, Beiheft 11 (Leipzig, 1913) 263.

<sup>35</sup> Deeters in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. *Lydia*, 2159.

<sup>36</sup> German *Lallnamen*, cp. Latin *lallare*, Greek *λαλεῖν*.

<sup>37</sup> See Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, 311.

<sup>38</sup> See Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, 361, and *Glotta* XXI 1932, 86 ff.



nymics on both sides of the Mediterranean. Ancient testimony with regard to the Lycians is found in Herodotus:

“Ἐν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι, καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων· καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἑωυτοὺς, καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων. εἰρομένον δὲ ἑτέρον τὸν πλησίον, τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἑωυτὸν μητρόθην, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται· ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστός, καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν, γυναῖκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἅτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.”<sup>39</sup>

But according to Sundwall there are no Lycian inscriptions to be found containing matronymics.<sup>40</sup> Kalinka also states “in titulis Lycie conscriptis uestigia iuris materni manifesta, qualia Herodotus I 173 memoriae prodidit . . . iam non inueniri.”<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, Sundwall admits at a subsequent point in the discussion<sup>42</sup> that there were no properly male and female names in Lycian because of the absence of grammatical gender. However, he also assumes that, since certain names are only and always used for men<sup>43</sup> and yet find themselves employed as patronymics where one would expect matronymics, Herodotus’ observation is an unjustified generalization from certain cases of matronymics known to him.<sup>44</sup> Sundwall also refutes the view that these inscriptions are later, of a date at which the presumed matrilinear descent had been supplanted under Greek influence by a patrilinear descent,<sup>45</sup> pointing out that they actually are of the fifth or fourth century B.C.,<sup>46</sup> that is, a period at which the Lycians had not yet been exposed to any Hellenizing influence. Whatever the details, the fact remains that there are at least some Lycian inscriptions which contain matronymics. As for the other Anatolian inscriptions, so far as is known, no matronymics can be claimed.<sup>47</sup> Do these matronymics point to the existence of the *ius*

<sup>39</sup> Herodotus, I 173.

<sup>40</sup> Sundwall, *op. cit.*, 257.

<sup>41</sup> Kalinka, *op. cit.*, I 137.

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.*, 263.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*, 257.

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.*, 258.

<sup>45</sup> See Oskar Treuber, *Geschichte der Lykier* (Stuttgart, 1887) 121 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Kalinka, *op. cit.*, I 5.

<sup>47</sup> Sundwall, *op. cit.*, 260.

*maternum* among the Lycians? According to the passage quoted from Herodotus this might be assumed.<sup>48</sup> If it turned out to be true, this conviction would of course add no little weight to the argument in favor of grouping Lycian among the non-Indo-European languages of Asia Minor, since, on the whole, matriarchate is alien to the speakers of Indo-European languages.<sup>49</sup>

What is the evidence of matronymics on the Etruscan side? It has been stated that the Etruscans knew no grammatical gender. This would make the alleged discovery of matronymics somewhat controversial. But in Etruscan also we may presume a development parallel to that supposed for Lycian, namely that under foreign influence distinctions of gender may actually arise.<sup>50</sup> Feminine gentile names express differences of gender by means of suffixes different from those of masculine names. This applies to the older southern as well as the later northern inscriptions.<sup>51</sup> We are then in the position of observing the curious phenomenon of a language altering one of its basic features to accommodate a type of nomenclature by means of which a person's father or mother were designated. Where could this novelty of the category of gender be derived from if not from neighbors who exerted some influence upon Etruscan speech? And who but the speakers of Indo-European languages in Italy could be considered neighbors influential enough?

The conclusion is, then, that in the matter of the importation of other than single names from their homeland and possible traces of multiple names in that area, it seems that we must resign ourselves to a simple, honest *ignoramus* for the time being. We have found in Asia Minor patronymics and matronymics. But this is quite a universal characteristic of onomastics, and in its primitive form has nothing to do with family-names simply because at that stage patronymics and matronymics were not at all hereditary surnames

<sup>48</sup> Cf. E. Szanto, "Zum lykischen Mutterrecht," *Festschrift für Otto Bendorff* (Wien, 1898) 259 ff.

<sup>49</sup> For a theory of the immigration of the Lycians from across the sea into Asia Minor see Kalinka, *op. cit.*, 10.

<sup>50</sup> Fiesel, *op. cit.*, 117.

<sup>51</sup> Fiesel, *op. cit.*, 114.

which might identify a family over an indefinite number of generations. I should, therefore, not consider it wise to state that the Etruscans brought with them a nomenclature which the Romans and other Italic tribes imitated in due time.

And now to the third objection: Is it not possible that the Etruscans accepted their onomastic system from the Italic tribes rather than *vice versa*? The evidence for the acquisition of a characteristically alien grammatical category, that of gender, at least in proper names, at once points to an affirmative answer. The following common and regular scheme of the Etruscan name (for men and unmarried women) has been worked out: <sup>52</sup>

<i>Praenomen</i> + <i>gentilicium</i> +father's <i>praen.</i> (gen.)+mother's <i>gent.</i> (gen.)				
<i>larθ</i>	<i>aleθnas</i>	<i>arnθal</i>	<i>ruofialc</i> <sup>53</sup>	<i>clan</i> <sup>54</sup>
<i>fa</i>	<i>lennei</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>velθineal</i>	<i>sec</i> <sup>55</sup>

All this is a far cry indeed from anything we have seen in Asia Minor. Yet, for all we know, there may have been such names there, of which we simply have no traces. Therefore, we must not leap to the rash conclusion that we now have finally located the source of the change as being native to Italic just because the Etruscans learned in Italy to employ a type of grammatical gender that they did not know previously. Why may they not have borrowed the concept of grammatical gender from Indo-European and incorporated it in their original nomenclature, and the Italici have received the Etruscan form of nomenclature and retained their own distinction of gender? This would point to mutual enrichment, which in itself is historically and culturally most plausible.

We have further evidence of grammatical and formal influence of Italic upon Etruscan. If we compare Etruscan inscriptions of an older and a later stratum, we should be able to note the increase of Italic influence in the later documents, provided our premise of the

<sup>52</sup> Wilhelm Deecke, *Etruskische Forschungen* III (Stuttgart, 1879) 382 ff.

<sup>53</sup> -c means 'and.'

<sup>54</sup> *clan* 'filius.'

<sup>55</sup> *sec* 'filia.' There is a different variety of name for married women which need not be discussed here. See Deecke, *loc. cit.*

Italic influence is correct at all. We have, however, to admit that the date of inscriptions found even in one single region is very difficult to determine if they bear no dates, because of the physical properties of the material upon which they are engraved, and because the clues afforded by the writing and the alphabet and by other features allow only approximate and vague chronological distinctions. But we fortunately possess, among Etruscan inscriptions, distinct types the age of which can be determined by their provenance, that is to say, in view of the gradual expansion of Etruscan power. Two such groups whose geographical position implies different dates are those of Orvieto (*Volsinii Veteres*) and Chiusi (*Clusium*), the former from about 600–300 B.C., the latter from 300–1 B.C., roughly. A classification of this material was suggested and executed by Gustav Herbig,<sup>56</sup> and I derive from his work such conclusions as are useful for our purpose. The example offered is, as Herbig himself admits, “. . . nur ein Stück von einem Stück, und auch dieses Stück nur unter einigen Gesichtspunkten,”<sup>57</sup> but in this particular instance the situation is so unusually favorable and inviting that a trial is surely worth while. Herbig selected from each location 170 male *gentilicia* and arranged them according to their suffixes. The distribution was the following:

## SUFFIXES

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
	<i>-na</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-ie</i>	<i>-i</i>
Orvieto	92	11	12	33	18	4
Chiusi	39	4	32	53	5	37

The numerical increase or decrease of usage between the older and the later inscriptions is then the following:

–53      –7      +20      +20      –13      +33

The percentage increase or decrease is:

–60%    –65%    +165%    +60%    –70%    +825%

<sup>56</sup> "Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft und Etruskologie," *IF* XXVI 1910, 360 ff.

<sup>57</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 367.



Columns II and III allow of no conclusion. Column I shows a considerable decrease. Since the suffix *-na* is commonly identified with Etruscan names, this would indicate that the pure Etruscan type is on the wane. The most spectacular increase is noted in column VI under the suffix *-i*. This suffix corresponds to Latin *-iu(s)*, the gentile suffix *par excellence*. In other words, the Latin ending most common to *gentilicia* and the one most easily Etruscanized increases by leaps and bounds. Also the Etruscan ending *-ie* in column V corresponds to Latin *-iu(s)*: but its not inconsiderable decrease seems to have been diverted to the *-i-type*. And finally column IV, the Etruscan *-e*, corresponds to Latin *-u(s)* and shows a pronounced rise, as one would expect. As part of the cumulative evidence these statistics must be significant.

Such was in fact one of the arguments which favored the theory of Etruscan borrowing from Latin. It is now time *altera pars quoque audiatur*. The Etruscologists are, of course, the principal adherents of the Etruscan-to-Latin hypothesis. Francesco Ribezzo says:

In un suo discorso a Firenze il prof. Ulrico Wilamowitz, tirando le somme di una grossa partita di studi, ha riconosciuto che l'estendersi dell'onomastica dell'Etruria antica a cicli e sfere territoriali molto più larghe di quelle, su cui è dimostrato un dominio diretto degli Etruschi, ha tolto al monumentale lavoro di Guglielmo Schulze sui nomi propri latini ogni base storica. Il valentissimo professore dell'Università di Berlino sosteneva, com'è noto, che sostanza e sistema dell'onomastica italiana son fondamentalmente etruschi, così da dover concludere che una volta il dominio etrusco dovesse estendersi molto al di là dei confini del Lazio e della Campania. . . . Sul sistema si pronunzia ora contro lo Schulze anche il Solmsen<sup>58</sup> nell'opera postuma *Indogerm. Eigennamen*.<sup>59</sup>

The investigation of local names prompts the same author to the following statement of principle:

La dimostrazione dell'unità strutturale e formativa nell'onomastica di tutta l'Italia preariana era dunque destinata anche a capovolgere netta-

<sup>58</sup> Felix Solmsen, ed. Ernst Fraenkel, *Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1922). [My note.]

<sup>59</sup> Francesco Ribezzo, "Le origini etrusche nella toponomastica," *Studi Etruschi* I 1927, 313.



mente i termini della questione etrusca e a dimostrare definitivamente destituta di ogni valore storico tutte le speculazioni dei logografi, con alla testa Ellanico ed Erodoto, su una migrazione degli Etruschi dall'Oriente.<sup>60</sup>

The author here denies explicitly the theory of Etruscan immigration from the East, which has by now won all but universal recognition from anthropologists, ethnologists, historians, and linguists. Since he errs on this cardinal point, we must also assume that his corollary hypothesis on names, as stated in the first of the two quotations, is equally biased and untenable. All the more so because, if Wilamowitz has ever expressed himself in the manner indicated by Ribezzo, he has not seen fit to publish this opinion.<sup>61</sup> The truth about Schulze is that in his colossal work he has established beyond the slightest doubt the intimacy which must have prevailed between Romans and Etruscans, and which expressed itself very appropriately in the borrowing and adoption of names on both sides, and in agreements of the onomastic systems in documented eras. But he did not arrive, and obviously did not wish to arrive, at any conclusion as to which of the two nations, if either, was, in prehistoric times, the inventor of the dual name system. It seems to me that in this problem Schulze cannot be called upon as an arbitrator. Neither is it possible, as has already been pointed out, to make the amount of borrowing a criterion on which to decide the question of the priority of the system. Indeed we are dealing with extensive Latinizing forces among the Etruscans, and with no less profound Etruscanizing forces among the Latins. How these can be weighed and measured minutely against one another it is impossible to see.

Take, for example, the Etruscan custom of stating the mother's

<sup>60</sup> Ribezzo, *op. cit.*, 317.

<sup>61</sup> I have consulted the *Wilamowitz Bibliographie* (Berlin, 22. Dezember 1929); the only talk contained therein to which Ribezzo could have referred is one given in Florence in May 1925, and which has been published in the *Rivista di Filologia* LIV (*Nuova Serie* IV) 1926, 1. In this lecture is contained, at least in my opinion, nothing which could give occasion to such a sweeping condemnation of Schulze as Ribezzo feels justified in demanding. Also in Solmsen there is no such statement, even though he does object against presuming too profound an Etruscan influence (*op. cit.*, 135 ff.). However, the editor of the book (which was published posthumously by Ernst Fraenkel with the permission of Solm-

name in the genitive in *-al*. In official Roman nomenclature neither this nor any other matronymic existed. The Etruscans, however, aligned themselves with the Roman custom, though not without some reluctance. In this manner, for instance: if the three Pisentii in the following three Etruscan inscriptions may be considered exponents of three successive generations, as has been asserted,<sup>62</sup> their transition to Latinity can be easily traced.

1. CIE 1593: *C. Pisentius Manial natu*
2. CIE 1594: *C. Pisenti C.f. Varia natu*
3. CIE 1595: *L. Pisenti C.f. Albani*

The grandfather still bears a matronymic, he is old-fashioned and conservative. He even retains the Etruscan genitive, *Manial*, but he adds to it a *natu*, which may give the phrase a slight Latin touch, but is really not good enough to deceive anyone, if deceit be intended, and rather makes the composition incongruous syntactically.<sup>63</sup> The next generation has learned to use the ablative of the feminine to go with *natus* and thus would offend against Roman custom only in mentioning the mother at all (if *Varia* be the mother's name — and there is no reason to think it tribal), but without committing a solecism. The exponent of the next generation, however, not only knows his Latin, but also, as a further concession to Romanization, avoids a matronymic completely. Another distinct trait of Latin influence on Etruscan is attested by such servile names as *aulup[ur]* and *caipur*, which obviously are nothing more than Roman *Aulipor* and *Caipor*, standing for *Auli puer* and *Cai puer*.

On the other hand, consider the Latin use of *filius* in inscriptions and names; the noun is related to *felare* 'to suckle', and could only refer etymologically to the relationship between the child and his mother. Nevertheless, it has become quite independent of its ety-

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sen's widow) emphasizes his own disagreement with Solmsen in this matter (*op. cit.*, 140 n. 1).

<sup>62</sup> Doer, *op. cit.*, 161.

<sup>63</sup> Similarly, an American immigrant, urged by a naïve desire for assimilation, may call his son William, or Jack, even though, at the same time piously clinging to the old surname, he continues to call himself and his children by some utterly foreign and (for the speaker of English) difficult name.

mology, which was completely forgotten, so that in all inscriptions *filius* goes with the patronymic and not with the matronymic. We have no evidence in Latin of the true etymological usage of *filius*. Hence we cannot fix the period at which the word became estranged from its etymon. But may we suppose that the existence of the word in itself indicates that for a prehistoric period matrilinear descent among the Italici may be assumed? <sup>64</sup> Should we not rather suppose Etruscan influence on Latin nomenclature in this case, since among speakers of Indo-European the matriarchate was, to say the least, not the rule? And is this hypothesis not supported by the fact that in the Italic dialects, unlike Latin, the word *filius*, or the abbreviation *f.*, is not employed in conjunction with patronymics?

At a later date in Latin nomenclature the influence of Etruscan matronymics ceases to be hypothetical and becomes a matter of record. Usually the matronymic appears as the *cognomen* of the son (in the technical sense). The custom took its origin, as one would expect, in Etruscan territory and not in Rome itself. The earliest instance of which we know occurs in the family of M. Porcius Cato Censorius, of Tusculum, in the middle of the second century B.C. He married twice. His first wife was called Licinia, the second Salonia. A son of the first marriage bore the name M. Porcius Cato *Licinianus*, a son of Salonia was called M. Porcius Cato *Salonianus*.<sup>65</sup> From this time on this manner of naming is retained and spread by the many families which immigrated into Rome from central Italy.<sup>66</sup> There is no need of tracing here the development of this habit in great detail.<sup>67</sup> All that needs to be emphasized is that, obviously through Etruscan influence, the Romans did acquire matronymics. Matronymics, that is, not exactly in the Etruscan form in

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Franz Bücheler, "Altes Latein," *Rheinisches Museum* XXXIX 1884, 408.

<sup>65</sup> Notice also that in this manner the cognomen has become the true individual name, that is the distinctive name of a man. Compare also the Spanish custom of adding the mother's surname to that of the father and connecting the two by y 'and.' In ancient Italy Venetic shows a number of matronymics.

<sup>66</sup> For the gens *Flavia*, for example, see Doer, *op. cit.*, 96 ff.

<sup>67</sup> See Doer, *op. cit.*, in the *Sachverzeichnis* s.v. *Mutterstammnamen* and *nomen gentis maternae*.

which the mother's name was actually quoted plus the word *filius* or *natus*, but derivations from the mother's name which indicated the maternal line of descent, especially when her gens was a noble one and the lineage thus expressed enhanced the nobility of the bearer of the name.<sup>68</sup>

The influence of Latin and Etruscan then goes both ways and contributes to the mutual enrichment of the nomenclatures of both nations. By going into more details we might bring to light many more points of contact, further illustrating the same principle. These may be gathered from the works mentioned and others. In the main, we have reached the following *conclusion*: at a time when the Etruscans settled on Italian soil, the inhabitants of the peninsula, who were, no doubt, largely speakers of Indo-European, with perhaps some remnants of an even older, perhaps the so-called Mediterranean stratum, bore, in continuation of a custom not only Indo-European, but one common to all young, loosely organized, and relatively restricted cultures, individual names only. The Etruscans, not numerically but culturally and intellectually their superiors, contrived to subjugate those tribes and formed, within them, an aristocratic ruling class. Since any conscious sentiment of relationship and unity among the Italic tribes was absent, no organized resistance was offered to the expansion of the intruders. The failure of the Etruscans to subdue all of Italy lies most likely with themselves. This class of masters and overlords developed in a high degree notions of superiority and nobility, and expressed these sentiments in a manner that has, among others, become typical and conventional. The first and most easily promulgated claim of a man to innate excellence, since nature cannot be trusted to imprint the stamp of nobility on all deserving foreheads, is to imply it in his name by reference to a line of more or less illustrious ancestors. This can be accomplished most conven-

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Vergil *Aen.* XI 340-41 (of the Latin Drances): *genus huic materna superbum | nobilitas dabat*. Compare also the fashion, gaining particularly in the United States, of employing the mother's family-name as the middle name, or even as the first, that is, the calling name, of a child. This may lead, ultimately, to a considerable curtailment of the number of baptismal names and to a loss of formal distinction between baptismal and family-names.

iently and efficiently by the acceptance, among other hereditary goods, of a hereditary family-name. In this manner an unmistakable distinction between Etruscans and the Italici was established. At the time of the ascendancy of the Italic tribes, particularly the Sabines and the Romans, this custom not only found acclaim among those persons whose acclaim was of any consequence, but in view of the rapid growth of the state and the increase in population it was found to be a very practical means of accomplishing a distinction between persons, of which a simple name was less capable. The gentile name became, therefore, not only the distinctive mark of nobility, but also, later on, by law, part of every free citizen's name. This implies that the Etruscans were responsible for the development of surnames in Italy. However, they themselves had not imported them from their homeland, but acquired them on Italic soil (hence the lack of evidence in the records of Asia, which are poor in any event) in the same manner in which, many centuries later and quite independently, Europeans obtained their still valid surnames. The date at which Italic tribes began to accept the Etruscan onomastic system cannot be ascertained on account of the absolute lack of documentation earlier than the sixth century. The records between the seventh century and *c.* 400 B.C. are, while not altogether missing, so sparse as to make it impossible to form an accurate picture of some general validity. And from that date onward surnames appear to be firmly established in Italy.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>69</sup> I am grateful to Professor Whatmough for revising this article for me, and for several additions.





## LITERARY PORTRAITURE IN ANCIENT EPIC

### *A Study of the Descriptions of Physical Appearance in Classical Epic*

BY ELIZABETH C. EVANS

OUR attention is often called to the fact that Homer refrained from detailed portraiture<sup>1</sup> of his characters. Even Dio Chrysostom<sup>2</sup> in the second century of our era observed that it would not have been fitting to describe Hector save as a brave man only, when he was setting fire to the ships. But after he is slain the Achaeans were amazed at his beauty:<sup>3</sup>

οἱ καὶ θηήσαντο φὺν καὶ εἶδος ἀγῆτὸν  
Ἑκτορος,

as they had been too busily occupied before this time to look upon him critically. It was Lessing,<sup>4</sup> however, who maintained that poets should abstain from describing lavishly physical beauty, as Homer does in the case of Helen. Nowhere does he enter upon a detailed description in the *Iliad*, though the whole poem is based on the loveliness of Helen. Homer in his wisdom, says Lessing, left unattempted what the Greek scholar Constantinus Manasses in the twelfth century chronicled in infinite detail. One element follows another in his portrait of Helen, yet he achieved no description of physical beauty, as beauty:

ἦν ἡ γυνὴ περικαλλής, εὖοφρος, εὐχρουστάτη,  
εὐπάρῃος, εὐπρόσωπος, βοῶπις, χιονόχρους,  
ἐλικοβλέφαρος, ἄβρά, χαρίτων γέμον ἄλσος,  
λευκοβραχίων, τρυφερά, κάλλος ἀντίκρυσ ἔμπνουν,

<sup>1</sup> G. Misener, "Iconistic Portraits," *CPh* 19 (1924) 104; E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (3rd ed. Leipzig, 1914) 160, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Or.* 21. 16-17 (508-509 R).

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* 22. 370-371.

<sup>4</sup> *Laokoön, Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Selections* ed. by W. G. Howard (New York, 1910) 20 (pp. 124-126).

τὸ πρόσωπον κατάλευκον, ἡ παρειὰ ῥοδόχρους,  
 τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπίχαρι, τὸ βλέφαρον ὥραϊον,  
 κάλλος ἀνεπιτήδευτον, ἀβάπτιστον, αὐτόχρουν,  
 ἔβαπτε τὴν λευκότητα, ῥοδόχροια πυρσίνη,  
 ὥς εἴ τις τὸν ἐλέφαντα βάψει λαμπρᾷ πορφύρᾳ.  
 δειρὴ μακρά, κατάλευκος ὄθεν ἐμυθουργήθη  
 κυκνογενὴ τὴν εὖοππον Ἑλένην χρηματίζειν.

She was a very beautiful woman, with lovely eyebrows and complexion,  
 With beautiful cheeks and face, ox-eyes, snow-white skin;  
 Dark (or round) eyed, tender, a grove full of charms,  
 White armed, delicate breathing, beauty undisguised;  
 The complexion fair, the cheek rosy,  
 The countenance pleasing, the eye beautiful.  
 Inartificial loveliness undyed, natural;  
 A rose-colored fruit tinged her whiteness,  
 As if one should dye ivory with splendid purple.  
 Long-necked, dazzling white, whence she was often called  
 Swan-born lovely Helen.

(In trans. of Lessing's *Laokoön*, by Sir R. Phillimore)

How then did Homer convey to his audience any impression of the physical portraiture of his characters? To say that he refrained from all portraiture would be misleading. Thersites the common man, Eurybates the herald, Odysseus himself, transformed to meet the needs of the story, bespeak an interest in iconistic descriptions of great vividness. But these portraits are the exception rather than the rule, and the fixed epithets such as *κυανοχαίτης* or *καλλιπάρης* are not the means which Homer employs for individualizing his characters. With them I do not intend to deal. It is rather the purpose of this study<sup>5</sup> to consider those descriptions of physique occurring in the ancient writers of epic from the earliest period of Greek literature to the end of the first century after Christ in order to see how these authors in the epic tradition described physical appearance, and especially to observe to what extent they attempted to interpret the

<sup>5</sup> Didactic epic is not included in this study. For a similar statement of purpose in an earlier study of descriptions of personal appearance in Roman history and biography, see *HSCP* 46 (1935) 44. Thersites is described in *Il.* 2. 216-219, Eurybates in *Od.* 19. 246.

character of a man from his personal appearance, i.e., used the description as a device of characterization. While in general it is not part of epic technique to describe the whole body photographically, it is, on the other hand, characteristic of epic in varying degree to indicate the emotion of the individual registered on the body or the countenance in such phrases as *κάκ' ὀσσομένος*, or *laeto vultu*, *truci vultu*, in expressions in which the momentary appearance of a man is depicted, that is to say, in phrases which suggest the reaction of a person to some event or speech as it is reflected for a brief space on the countenance. Such examples as are chosen for illustration are intended to be suggestive of the method used rather than inclusive of every instance.

The wondrous beauty of Helen,<sup>6</sup> like to that of the immortal goddesses, is briefly and indirectly seen through the eyes of the elders of Troy. Her contempt for Paris on his cowardly return from the battlefield is skillfully suggested,<sup>7</sup> ὄσσε πάλιν — with eyes turned askance — as she rebuked her lord. Agamemnon, angered at the accusations of Calchas in *Iliad*, book 1, was filled with rage in his black heart, and his eyes were like blazing fire:<sup>8</sup> ὄσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετετόωντι ἔκτην. His look, as he replied to Calchas' charges, boded trouble: *κάκ' ὀσσομένος*. In the quarrel which ensues between Agamemnon and Achilles, the phrase *ὑπόδρα ἰδών*, which recurs repeatedly<sup>9</sup> in the *Iliad* and less frequently in the *Odyssey*, is used of Achilles as he hurls the epithet *κυνώπης* at the Commander-in-chief. But the son of Peleus in no wise ceased from his wrath:<sup>10</sup> "Thou wine bibber, with the eyes of a dog, but the heart of a deer" (*κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο*) is his final insult to Agamemnon, while he shouts that the Achaeans will someday need his help but it will be of no avail.

<sup>6</sup> *Il.* 3. 156-158.

<sup>7</sup> 3. 427.

<sup>8</sup> 1. 104.

<sup>9</sup> 1. 148. Compare *Il.* 2. 245; 4. 349; 4. 411; 5. 251; 5. 828; 10. 446; 12. 230; 14. 82; 17. 141; 17. 169; 18. 284; 20. 428; 22. 260; 22. 344; *Od.* 8. 165; 17. 459; 18. 14; 18. 337; 18. 388; 19. 70; 22. 34; 22. 60; 22. 326.

<sup>10</sup> 1. 225.

The field of battle provides similar pictures. Ajax, the bulwark of the Achaeans, stalks through the warriors, with a smile on his grim face<sup>11</sup> (μειδιῶν βλοσυροῖσι προσώπασι), valiant and tall, towering above the Argives. When forced to give way to the Trojans, sullen at heart<sup>12</sup> (τετιγημένος ἦτορ), Ajax is compared to a tawny lion beset by dogs, or a lazy ass cudgelled by boys.<sup>13</sup> For Zeus had stirred Ajax to flight, and he stood in a daze, and with an anxious glance toward the crowd retreated slowly step by step.<sup>14</sup> With the Achaeans pushed hard at the ships he ranges with long strides over the many decks, confronting Hector relentlessly.<sup>15</sup> Hector, turning his horses this way and that, has eyes<sup>16</sup> even as those of the Gorgon, or of Ares, bane of mortals, while he ruthlessly drives the Achaeans to the ditch. With the tide of battle favoring the Trojans, Hector bursts through the gates of the Greek camp and his eyes blaze with fire<sup>17</sup> (πυρὶ δ' ὅσσε δεδήει). Raging around the Greek ships, he displays his fierceness in eyes burning beneath his dreadful brows.<sup>18</sup> Achilles, in turn, determined to reënter battle, likewise shows the intensity of his wrath in blazing eyes<sup>19</sup> (ἐν δέ οἱ ὅσσε | δεινὸν ὑπὸ βλεφάρων ὥς εἰ σέλας ἐξεφάανθεν), while he shouts, striding along the shore of the sea. When he is arrayed for battle there enters into his heart grief for Patroclus, but his eyes shine as a flame of fire<sup>20</sup> (λαμπέσθην ὥς εἴ τε πυρὸς σέλας). As he meets Aeneas standing with threatening face, he rushes at him in his fury with glaring eyes<sup>21</sup> (γλανκιδίων δ' ἰθὺς φέρεται μένει), and in his final encounter with Hector he is like a snake that has fed on baleful herbs, and dread wrath has entered into him, and he glares terribly upon his quarry.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>11</sup> 7. 211.<sup>12</sup> 11. 556.<sup>13</sup> 11. 556-562; 544-549.<sup>14</sup> 11. 544-547. τρέσσε δὲ παπτήνας.<sup>15</sup> 15. 686.<sup>16</sup> 8. 349. Γοργούς ὄμματ' ἔχων ἡδὲ βροτολογιού "Αρης.<sup>17</sup> 12. 466. Cf. 12. 463: His face was like sudden night — νυκτὶ θοῇ ἀτάλαντος ὑπώπια.<sup>18</sup> 15. 607-608. τὼ δέ οἱ ὅσσε / λαμπέσθην βλοσυρῇσι ὑπ' ὀφρύσιν.<sup>19</sup> 19. 16-17.<sup>21</sup> 20. 161; 172.<sup>20</sup> 19. 366.<sup>22</sup> 22. 95.



On Olympus Hera, determined to pursue her own course of action in the Trojan War, adorns herself to beguile Zeus on Mt. Ida, and, smiling, lays the zone of laughter-loving Aphrodite in her bosom.<sup>23</sup> When Zeus, deceived, awakes from his sleep, ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν, he addresses his spouse, and the ox-eyed Hera shudders.<sup>24</sup> But Zeus, at length mollified, smiles at her submissive plea that it is Poseidon who works harm to the Trojans and to Hector. Yet when Zeus refuses to alter his promise to Thetis, Hera goes to the assembly of the gods in anger. She laughs with her lips, but her forehead above her dark brows does not relax<sup>25</sup> (ἡ δ' ἐγέλασσε | χεῖλεσιν οὐ δὲ μέτωπον ἐπ' ὀφρύσι κυανέησιν | ἰάνθη).

Agamemnon on the battlefield is identified among the Achaean heroes by Helen at the request of the elders on the walls of Troy. The portraiture is indirect and comparative, for the ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν appears before our eyes in terms of the gods. His head and eyes<sup>26</sup> (ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν) are like those of Zeus, his waist that of Ares, his chest equal to Poseidon's. Odysseus in turn is set against Agamemnon in comparison by Priam as shorter, but broader of shoulder and of chest, like a ram in the herd. Helen identifies him for the Trojan king, and the sage Antenor takes up the account of Laertes' son with the story of the embassy of Menelaus and Odysseus to Troy to regain Helen. Menelaus, he says, commanding in appearance, was of few words in speech; Odysseus, the more stately while seated, gave the impression of a man of no understanding, as he rose up to speak. He would stand, looking down with his eyes fixed on the ground<sup>27</sup> (ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκεν κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πῆξας), holding his staff stiffly, without a trace of gesture so vital in later rhetorical practice. Yet when he began to speak, he would utter words falling like the snowflakes of winter, and all marveled at his appearance. The device of comparison employed to portray Agamemnon, in a manner anticipates the method used to describe the hero of the *Odyssey*. The

<sup>23</sup> 14. 223.

<sup>24</sup> 15. 34. Cf. 15. 13, and see n. 9.

<sup>25</sup> 15. 101-103.

<sup>26</sup> 2. 478-479.

<sup>27</sup> 3. 217.

key to the portrait of Odysseus there lies in indirection. He is first revealed to our eyes through the appearance of his son. When Mentès (Athena) meets Telemachus he asks directly: <sup>28</sup> "But, come, tell me this and declare it truly, whether indeed, tall as thou art, thou art the son of Odysseus himself. Wondrously like his are thy head and beautiful eyes" (*αἰνῶς γὰρ κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ὄμματα καλὰ ἔοικας*). His likeness to his father impresses Nestor in his speech.<sup>29</sup> When Helen, happily settled again in her own home in Sparta, receives Telemachus searching for the wanderer, she turns to Menelaus with the remark: <sup>30</sup> "Amazement holds me, as I look, as this man is like the son of the great-hearted Odysseus," and Menelaus replies: <sup>31</sup> Yes, that is so. "Such were his feet, such were his hands, and the glances of his eyes, and his head and hair above."

The first direct description of Odysseus comes in the picture of the lonely man far from Ithaca, seated on the shore of Calypso's island, straining his soul with tears, and, as he weeps, looking wistfully over the sea. From that portrait of despair he once more emerges as the magnificent, commanding figure we have been led to visualize in the early books of the *Odyssey*. Shipwrecked on the coast of Phaeacia he creeps from the thicket like a mountain-bred lion, trusting in his strength, his eyes blazing <sup>32</sup> (*ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε δαίεται*), terrifying the gentle and lovely Nausicaa and her companions by his appearance. The work of Athena in transforming him to a godlike figure, taller and mightier to look upon — gleaming with beauty and grace — makes him marvelous to see and in reality the kind of person imagined from the earlier references to his physique in the comparison made with Telemachus. Nor is Nausicaa the only person promptly captivated by his new appearance. On the Phaeacians, Athena <sup>33</sup> has worked a similar spell, that he may be welcomed and win respect. His build is

<sup>28</sup> *Od.* 1. 206–209 (trans. A. T. Murray).

<sup>29</sup> 3. 124–125.

<sup>30</sup> 4. 142–145 (trans. Murray).

<sup>31</sup> 4. 149–150 (trans. Murray).

<sup>32</sup> 6. 131–132. But compare Athena's skill in transforming him to a shriveled old man in Ithaca, *Od.* 13. 398–403; 429–433.

<sup>33</sup> 8. 18–20. Cf., however, the taunt of Euryalus, and Odysseus' reply, p. 197.

remarked upon by Laodamas, the son of Alcinous, who urges his participation in the games. His great might, his strength of youth, are even yet apparent,<sup>34</sup> says the Phaeacian, though he has been overwhelmed by many troubles.

Once Odysseus is restored to his own Ithaca the technique of description is in a way reversed. Eumaeus, the swineherd, without recognizing his master, talks to him of the glorious form and strength of Telemachus<sup>35</sup> (δέμας καὶ εἶδος ἀγῆτόν), in no degree inferior in appearance to that of his father. The magnificence of Telemachus is again suggested in the description of Eumaeus' greeting to the youth, the affection with which the old man kissed his head and both his beautiful eyes.<sup>36</sup> Yet the resemblance of Telemachus to his father emphasized strongly in the early books by those who knew Odysseus well has no part in the wanderer's welcome by his wife. By the irony common to human experience he who, of all men, was closest to Penelope tells her the tale of meeting Odysseus in the island of Crete on his way to the war and is unrecognized by his own wife while she mourns for her absent husband. But his eyes stand fixed between his lids as though they were of horn or iron, and with craft he hides his own tears.<sup>37</sup> Then once more the device of the earlier books of the *Odyssey* recurs as Eurycleia obeys Penelope's command to bathe the visitor's feet:<sup>38</sup> "Never have I seen any man so like another as thou in form, and in voice, and in feet art like Odysseus." Thus the device of comparison common to the earlier portraits of the man is used directly against the man himself in the later story. When Eurycleia recognizes the scar upon his leg, joy and grief in one moment come to her, and her eyes fill with tears, and

<sup>34</sup> 8. 134-137. He is described directly by Athena as supple, fair haired, fair skinned, with beautiful eyes in *Od.* 13. 393-401.

<sup>35</sup> 14. 177.

<sup>36</sup> 16. 14-16; 17. 63. In *Od.* 18. 219-220, Penelope chides Telemachus for the treatment accorded the stranger in their halls:

ἐς μέγεθος κάλλος ὀρώμενος ἀλλότριος φῶς,  
οὐκέτι τοι φρένες εἰσὶν ἐναίσιμοι οὐδὲ νόημα.

<sup>37</sup> 19. 203-204; 211-212. He describes Odysseus' attendant, Eurybates. See note 5.

<sup>38</sup> 19. 380-381 (trans. Murray).

with her eyes she turns toward Penelope, anxious to show her that her husband was at home.<sup>39</sup> But Penelope could not meet her glances<sup>40</sup> nor did she comprehend, for Athena had turned away her thoughts. With the fearful slaughter of the suitors accomplished, Odysseus sits in the hall by a tall pillar, looking down,<sup>41</sup> waiting to see if his wife would speak to him, and she in turn would sit long in silence, and astonishment would come upon her, and with her eyes she would look full in his face, but once and again she would not know him, for, says Homer, his clothing was mean. When at last Athena transforms him and sheds abundant beauty upon him, making him taller and mightier as she had done for Nausicaa and the Phaeacians, Penelope still hesitates to identify him as her lord, beset by the doubts and uncertainties of many years of separation. And the final recognition of the wanderer is achieved not by any means of physical resemblance to a man known long ago, but only by the familiar story and simple device of the olive bedpost in the palace wonderfully wrought by Odysseus years before the Trojan war.

Grief and sorrow are implicit in a poem of war like the *Iliad*. Andromache smiles through her tears<sup>42</sup> (δακρύνειν γέλασασα) in her farewell to Hector. Briseis mourns gently and sadly for Patroclus, while Achilles writhes in paroxysms of grief. Hector's death brings tragedy to the hearts of his wife, his mother, his father, and the final scenes of the *Iliad* reflect a climax of sorrow on both sides. So Achilles wonders in amazement at the sight<sup>43</sup> of the godlike Priam as he appears at his tent. Swift to anger, he answers Priam's request for Hector's body,<sup>44</sup> ὑπόδρα ἰδών. The fierceness of his feeling is instantly upon his face, but just as quickly he grants the old man's wishes and bids him spend the night. They eat and Priam marveled at Achilles, how tall he was, and how handsome, like the very gods.

<sup>39</sup> 19. 476-477.

<sup>40</sup> 19. 478-479.

<sup>41</sup> 23. 90-95.

<sup>42</sup> *Il.* 6. 484.

<sup>43</sup> 24. 483.

<sup>44</sup> 24. 559. Cf. n. 9.



And at Priam Achilles wondered, beholding his goodly appearance and listening to his words:<sup>45</sup> (εἰσορόων ὄψιν τ' ἀγαθὴν καὶ μῦθον ἀκούων).

One question that immediately occurs to the reader of Homer's portraits is how far the poet suggests the techniques of the later physiognomists. Actually the picture of Thersites, bandy-legged, head warped, with shoulders arched down upon his chest, fits readily into the conventional portraits of the ἀναιδής and the κακοηθής of the pseudo-Aristotelian handbook, and is thus cited.<sup>46</sup> Two passages in Homer, furthermore, belong clearly to a discussion of the theories lying behind "the mind's construction in the face." In the *Iliad*<sup>47</sup> in the account of Idomeneus to Meriones of the courageous man in battle, an account very much in accord with the writings of the physiognomists, the Achaeans are told off beside the ships for an ambush, "wherein the valour of men is best discerned."

On a similar passage in the *Odyssey* Galen<sup>48</sup> remarks that it is best that the young man, looking at himself in a mirror, if he be handsome, should practice making his soul as fair as possible, for it is a disgrace for a base soul to dwell in a beautiful body. So Homer says, when Odysseus replies to Euryalus, who taunts him with not having the look of an athlete.<sup>49</sup>

With Apollonius Rhodius the technique of physical description is modified. Examples of its use, in the first place, are not common through the poem. Whatever instances occur in rapid succession are to be found concentrated in one episode of the Argonautic expedition, the story of Medea and Jason. It is obvious that the poet is working here less in the Homeric tradition of description than under the influence of lyric poetry where momentary emotion, instantaneous reaction, express themselves in line after line, as in the poetry of

<sup>45</sup> 24. 632.

<sup>46</sup> G. Misener, "Iconistic Portraits," *op. cit.*, 103-104. Similar treatment is accorded the herald Eurybates. See note 5.

<sup>47</sup> *Il.* 13. 278-286.

<sup>48</sup> *Protr.* 8 (ed. Kühn 1. 17-18).

<sup>49</sup> *Od.* 8. 167-177. See p. 195 where Odysseus' physique is praised by Laodamas.



Sappho, in direct intensity. Furthermore, drama has left its mark, and all the skill of Euripides in characterization with psychological insight is imitated and brought to bear.

The conventional beginnings of the expedition are seen in the grief of Jason's mother and her companions and servants as he leaves home. The hero, like Apollo in appearance, soothed their pain, encouraging them, and they in silence with downcast looks <sup>50</sup> take up his weapons of war. The expedition departs and with tears Jason holds his eyes <sup>51</sup> turned away from his fatherland.

The episode of Hypsipyle shows Jason going to the palace of the queen through the city like a bright star but with his eyes fixed on the ground <sup>52</sup> (ὁ δ' ἐπὶ χθονὸς ὄμματ' ἐρείσας). The queen, receiving him, addresses him with crafty words, turning her eyes modestly aside <sup>53</sup> (ἡ δ' ἐγκλιδὸν ὄσσε βαλοῦσα), and a blush covers her maiden cheeks. Similar incidents may be cited of the other participants. The eyes <sup>54</sup> of the heroes roll askance as they drag their oars through the sea. Heracles sits in solemn silence, glaring around <sup>55</sup> (ἀνὰ δ' ἔζετο σιγῇ / παπταίνων) as he breaks his oar, for his hands are not used to being idle. Pollux accepts the challenge of a fight with Amycus and wears a look of gladness in his eyes <sup>56</sup> (φαιδρὸς ἐν ὄμμασιν), while Amycus holds his eyes on his foe, and with rolling eyes <sup>57</sup> glares at him.

With the third book a new note in portraiture is struck, where every momentary development is marked by a corresponding indication of facial expression on the part of the chief actors. The Medea romance starts as does Dido's in the machinations of two goddesses. Athena and Hera debate the means of furthering the exploits of Jason, their eyes fixed on the ground at their feet, plotting each in her own way <sup>58</sup> (καὶ ἐπ' οὐδ' εὖος αἶ γε ποδῶν πάρος ὄμματ' ἔπηξαν). They appeal to Cypris, who is introduced in a ridiculous scene as the mediator, and who proposes that they persuade Eros to charm Medea

<sup>50</sup> I. 267.

<sup>51</sup> I. 535.

<sup>52</sup> I. 784-785.

<sup>53</sup> I. 790-791.

<sup>54</sup> 2. 664-665.

<sup>55</sup> I. 1170-1171.

<sup>56</sup> 2. 44.

<sup>57</sup> 2. 25. ὁ δ' ἐσέδρακεν ὄμμαθ' ἐλίξας.

<sup>58</sup> 3. 22.

with love.<sup>59</sup> Readily, she maintains, he will obey their command. The goddesses smile, look at each other, but at their urging, nevertheless, Aphrodite promises to coax him, and Hera, taking her hand, beams her approval.<sup>60</sup> Eros is discovered playing dice with Ganymedes. With a winning hand, he stands upright, a sweet flush glowing on his cheek. His opponent sits by silent and downcast of face. The ruthlessness of the little rogue is betrayed in his loud laughter<sup>61</sup> of success in the game. His mother questions him amused,<sup>62</sup> bribes him with the promise of a gift, a round ball, and he complies gladly with her request. He enters the threshold of the palace, glances sharply around<sup>63</sup> (*ὀξέα δινύλλων*), and shoots his arrow at Medea. The damage is done. The scene shifts and our next descriptions are wholly concerned with the Colchian princess and Jason's task. Pierced by the arrow of Eros, Medea keeps darting sharp glances<sup>64</sup> (*ἀμαρύγματα*) at Aeson's son, and her soul is consumed in pain. In her distress her cheeks turn pale, then red. Aeetes, meanwhile, hearing of the feat proposed by Jason, in his fury displays his cruelty in the fierceness of his eyes beneath his brows.<sup>65</sup> He tells Jason the conditions of getting the fleece, and the Argonaut stands, speechless, fixing his eyes on the ground.<sup>66</sup> As he prepares to meet the challenge, Medea with a stealthly glance<sup>67</sup> (*ὄμματα κούρη / λοξά*) gazes at Jason, magnificent in his beauty and grace. Chalcioppe, well aware of her sister's distraction, accosts her as to the reason for it. Medea's cheeks flush, she starts to speak and stops. Chalcioppe urges her to devise some trick to help Jason, and Medea's heart leaps with joy, her cheeks crimson, and a mist swims before her eyes.<sup>68</sup> Tortured with anguish by night, she resolves upon her plan. Waiting for Jason as he prepares for his task, she does not keep her glance steadily on her company of attendants, but peers constantly into the distance.<sup>69</sup> Shortly he appears before her longing eyes, and they meet secretly

<sup>59</sup> 3. 91-93.

<sup>60</sup> 3. 107.

<sup>61</sup> 3. 124.

<sup>62</sup> 3. 129.

<sup>63</sup> 3. 281.

<sup>64</sup> 3. 288, 290.

<sup>65</sup> 3. 371 (after R. C. Seaton).

<sup>66</sup> 3. 422-423.

<sup>67</sup> 3. 443-445.

<sup>68</sup> 3. 724-725.

<sup>69</sup> 3. 951-953.

in the shrine of Hecate. He addresses her in gentle courtesy, and she casts her eyes down with a smile as sweet as nectar: <sup>70</sup> ἡ δ' ἐγκλιδὸν ὄσσε βαλοῦσα / νεκτάρεον μείδησε. Raising her eyes she looks at him full in the face <sup>71</sup> (ἀνέδρακεν ὄμμασιν ἄντην). Eros flashes a bright flame from the golden head of Aeson's son, and he captivates her radiant eyes. And now both were fixing their eyes on the ground, confused and again looking at each other, smiling tenderly beneath their shining brows.<sup>72</sup> The lovers prepare to separate, she casts her eyes to her feet,<sup>73</sup> begging him to remember her name. He pledges his love, receives from her the fatal charm, and goes his way to the task imposed, while the handmaids at a judicious distance keep watch of the tryst, grieving in silence.<sup>74</sup> Then, as time passes, Hera puts into the heart of Medea dread fear. She is haunted by the guilty knowledge of her attendants, yet her eyes blaze with fire,<sup>75</sup> her ears ring in lines reminiscent of Sappho's art. When, with her help the task of Jason is completed, she is ready to abandon her home and family, and they leave. But all too soon Medea's mood is changed. She upbraids Jason for trying to desert her, when he refuses to fight the Colchians over her brother Apsyrtus.<sup>76</sup> Yet the terrible deed of murder is done, and the girl quickly turns her eyes away <sup>77</sup> (ἐμπαλιν ὄμματ' ἐνεικε), and covers them with her veil in horror. The lovers escape their pursuers in the Argo, and take their homeward way. All the innuendo of facial expression lessens, all the intensity of the emotion felt in the third book drops, and little remains in the final scenes to move the reader from that point of view. Only once again is there significant use in the narrative of the expression in Medea's eyes — this time fearful in their power — as she turns her mind to craft and with a hostile look bewitches the eyes of Talos,<sup>78</sup> the bronze

<sup>70</sup> 3. 1008-1010.

<sup>71</sup> 3. 1018-1019. τῆς δ' ἀμαρυγᾶς / ὀφθαλμῶν ἥρπαξεν.

<sup>72</sup> 3. 1022-1024 (after Seaton).

<sup>73</sup> 3. 1063-1064.

<sup>74</sup> 3. 1137-1138.

<sup>75</sup> 4. 16-17.

<sup>76</sup> 4. 388-390.

<sup>77</sup> 4. 466.

<sup>78</sup> 4. 1669-1670. ἐχθοδοποδοῖσιν / ὄμμασι χαλκείοιο Τάλῳ ἐμέγηρεν ὀπωτάς.

man of Crete. For in that moment Medea becomes the sorceress of mythology rather than the Colchian princess tortured by the anguish of love.

The love story of Medea and Jason leads directly to the theme of the fourth book of Virgil's *Aeneid*. In terms of portraiture there is obvious kinship, at the same time marked differences. The goddesses involved, Juno and Venus, betray their states of mind early in the poem, their distrust of each other in developing their plans, the anger of Juno at the success of Aeneas' wanderings<sup>79</sup> — *incedo regina?* — Venus lamenting to Jupiter over the treatment of her son<sup>80</sup> — *tristior et lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentis*, Jupiter's reply,<sup>81</sup> *olli subridens*. The *Aeneid*, as might naturally be expected, contains many elements of Homeric description as well as marks of Hellenistic poetry. For example, on the level of human action in the opening book the figure of Aeneas recalls Odysseus on the island of Calypso, a man of woe and filled with sorrows. After the shipwreck and the storm, he reassures his companions, wearing a look of hope<sup>82</sup> (*spem vultu simulat*), while he buries deep anguish in his heart. When he and Achates make their way to the temple at Carthage and survey the pictures of Troy, the hero gives way to his grief,<sup>83</sup> *largoque umectat flumine vultum*. As Aeneas is revealed to Dido, the queen is astonished,<sup>84</sup> *primo aspectu*, at the glorious appearance of the Trojan on whom his goddess mother has bestowed not only all the graces of Odysseus, granted by Athena, at crucial moments, but added a sprightly luster to his eyes<sup>85</sup> (*laetos oculis adflarat honores*). In the telling of the story of the last night of Troy the familiar figures of the *Iliad* legend appear,<sup>86</sup> momentarily described, but with

<sup>79</sup> *Aen.* I. 46.

<sup>80</sup> I. 228.

<sup>81</sup> I. 254. The same expression is used to describe the countenance of Jupiter, when he effects a final compromise with Juno on the union of the Trojans and the Latins, *Aen.* 12, 829.

<sup>82</sup> I. 209.

<sup>83</sup> I. 465.

<sup>84</sup> I. 613.

<sup>85</sup> I. 591.

<sup>86</sup> Hector, whose *serenus vultus* (2. 285-286) is frightfully disfigured, Cas-



the return directly to the tragedy of Dido, all the suggestiveness of physical portraiture is heightened exactly as is the third book of Apollonius. The queen herself is simply <sup>87</sup> *forma pulcherrima* at the beginning, she reassures the Trojans quietly <sup>88</sup> *vultum demissa*. Meanwhile Venus plots the means of captivating the heart of Sidonian Dido with the tricks of Cupid, more disastrously as well as more subtly worked out than in Apollonius. The Trojans wonder at the gifts of Aeneas, they gaze at Iulus and the glowing countenance of the god, substituted for the boy <sup>89</sup> (*mirantur dona Aeneae, mirantur Iulum / flagrantisque dei vultus*), while the queen clings to the child with her eyes and her whole soul.<sup>90</sup> Once the story of Aeneas' wanderings is finished, Aeneas' face is fixed in the heart of Dido,<sup>91</sup> she recalling in mind his bearing and his bravery. The affair progresses rapidly, far more rapidly than in the *Argonautica*, and the moment of climax is reached with hardly a suggestion of momentary portraiture. Aeneas is recalled to duty. He prepares to depart, delaying his plea to the queen. She in desperate mood senses the truth, attacks him, then exhorts him, while he holds his eyes unmoved,<sup>92</sup> suppressing anxious care within his heart. Briefly he explains his task. She listens to his words with averted glance <sup>93</sup> (*aversa tuetur*), *huc illuc volvens oculos totumque pererrat*,<sup>94</sup> and with silent look (*luminibus tacitis*) surveys him. Scornfully she rejects his words: <sup>95</sup> "Has he ever turned his eyes in kindness to her distress?" Not even Juno or Jupiter have regarded her with impar-

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sandra *tendens ardentia lumina* (2. 405) as she is dragged from the temple, Priam uttering imprecations on Pyrrhus for defiling the *patrios vultus* (2. 539), Anchises joyously lifting his eyes to heaven for the omen of Jupiter (2. 687), Andromache telling the story of her captivity, *deiecit vultum* (3. 320).

<sup>87</sup> I. 496. Lessing admires this simple description of Dido, *loc. cit.*, n. 4.

<sup>88</sup> I. 561.

<sup>89</sup> I. 709-710.

<sup>90</sup> I. 717-719.

<sup>91</sup> 4. 4-5.

<sup>92</sup> 4. 331-332, *immota tenebat / lumina*. Cf. p. 201.

<sup>93</sup> 4. 362.

<sup>94</sup> 4. 363-364.

<sup>95</sup> 4. 369. *num lumina flexit?*



tial eyes<sup>96</sup> (*oculis aequis*). In an instant she breaks off, turns away<sup>97</sup> (*seque ex oculis avertit*), and leaves Aeneas hesitant, distraught. In the intense scenes which ensue little actually is said of facial expression save of tears<sup>98</sup> (*lacrimae inanes*), futile and unavailing. The contrast to Apollonius is striking, for where the growing power of love between two people increases every moment in tension, detailed portraiture of the face is part of the poet's technique. But Virgil's art at this point is "the art of reticence," and all the force of the overwhelming passion of Dido and Aeneas is barely mentioned in these terms, while the height of anguish and disillusionment is limned bitterly and fully. As Dido determines on her final plan, she conceals it on her countenance<sup>99</sup> (*consilium vultu tegit*), successfully deceives the unwitting Anna, and ultimately *sanguineam volvens aciem*,<sup>100</sup> pale, resolute on death, she rushes to the pyre where she hurls a final imprecation on Aeneas: <sup>101</sup> "Let that cruel Trojan from the sea fill his eyes with these flames, and bear with him the omens of my death" (*hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto*). In the moment of death she seeks to lift her heavy eyes to the sky, three times she searches for the light, *oculis errantibus*,<sup>102</sup> and groans, having found it.

The end of the tragedy is quick, and the epilogue in the underworld reveals the same intense mood of scorn as at the end of the fourth book. While Aeneas seeks to plead his case for the last time to the queen,<sup>103</sup> *ardentem et torva tuentem*, she, *aversa*, holds her eyes fixed on the ground, nor alters her looks again.<sup>104</sup> As in the enamorment of Medea it is the *δέσις* of the story that received skillful portraiture, so in Dido's story it is the *λύσις* that marks the power of the poet's handling of this aspect of characterization, for Apol-

<sup>96</sup> 4. 372.

<sup>97</sup> 4. 389.

<sup>98</sup> 4. 449; 413; 439.

<sup>99</sup> 4. 477. *ac spem fronte serenat*.

<sup>100</sup> 4. 643.

<sup>101</sup> 4. 661-662.

<sup>102</sup> 4. 691.

<sup>103</sup> 6. 467.

<sup>104</sup> 6. 469-470. *illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*.

lonius is concerned with love poetry,<sup>105</sup> and Virgil with the depth of tragedy.

Similar in kind to that of the *Iliad* another thread of portraiture predominates in the last half of the *Aeneid* in scenes on the battle-fields of Italy, portraiture of heroes in action. Aeneas himself stands firm,<sup>106</sup> as for example, against Lausus and his father Mezentius. The *violentia* of Turnus, in contrast, is subtly and carefully built in terms of his appearance. Allecto disguised as Calybe incites the Rutulian. His arrogance comes to full expression in his reply to her as his eyes stiffened<sup>107</sup> (*deriguere oculi*). He creates terror in the manner of the Homeric warriors,<sup>108</sup> *continuo nova lux oculis effulsit et arma*, and the followers of Aeneas recognize the hated face.<sup>109</sup> Insolent to Pandarus, after his brother's death, he smiles with untroubled heart<sup>110</sup> (*olli subridens sedato pectore*). Beaten back,<sup>111</sup> he is *terrītus, asper, acerba tuens*. The young Pallas confronts Turnus, amazed at the giant form, surveys the warrior with fierce glance,<sup>112</sup> only to be struck down ruthlessly. In the eleventh book the fury of Turnus blazes out for war. Camilla comes to his aid and Turnus accepts it,<sup>113</sup> *oculos horrenda in virgine fixus*. In the final scenes Amata tries to persuade Turnus to refrain from fighting, but he, looking upon the lovely face of his once betrothed Lavinia<sup>114</sup> (*figitque in virgine vultus*), with sheer frenzy driving him on, flashes fire from his keen eyes<sup>115</sup> (*oculis micat acribus ignes*), and from his blazing face sparks fly<sup>116</sup> (*totoque ardentis ab ore/scintillae*). With the battle uneven he swells the unrest by turning to the altars,<sup>117</sup> *incessu tacito*, and humbly adoring them with eye cast down, and wasted cheeks. In the last moments, the cause lost, the Latins make

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Catullus, 64, in this regard. Emphasis is placed on the descriptions of Ariadne's face and eyes as she beholds Theseus, almost no attention is given to the countenance in her moments of despair, save of tears and laments.

<sup>106</sup> *Aen.* 10. 770-772.

<sup>107</sup> 7. 447.

<sup>108</sup> 9. 731.

<sup>109</sup> 9. 734.

<sup>110</sup> 9. 740. Cf. n. 81.

<sup>111</sup> 9. 793-794.

<sup>112</sup> 10. 447.

<sup>113</sup> 11. 507.

<sup>114</sup> 12. 70.

<sup>115</sup> 12. 102.

<sup>116</sup> 12. 101-102.

<sup>117</sup> 12. 219-221.

their final plea to Turnus through Saces. Turnus, bewildered by disaster and the death of Amata, stands in silence gazing,<sup>118</sup> then rolling his flaming eyes<sup>119</sup> in the direction of the ramparts, he resolves to enter the lists against Aeneas. At last he confronts him in single combat, Aeneas seeking with his eye the happy chance<sup>120</sup> (*sortitus fortunam oculis*), Turnus in supplication lifting up his eyes. Aeneas stops, turning his eyes toward his victim,<sup>121</sup> on the point of staying his hand, then at the sight of Pallas' baldrick hesitates no longer for the final blow.

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* the use of physical description is limited in scope and not essentially different from that appearing in earlier epic tradition. By reason of the nature of the work, such descriptions are not sustained over a long portion of the poem, so that scenes comparable with those of the fourth *Aeneid* are not to be expected. It is momentary suggestion of appearance, briefly stated once, that holds the reader of Ovid's cento of transformations. Apollo looks on Daphne, gazing at her eyes gleaming like stars<sup>122</sup> (*videt igne micantes/sideribus similes oculos*). Lycaon, King of Arcadia, changes into a wolf, yet retains some traces of his former shape. There is the same gray hair, the same fierce face<sup>123</sup> (*eadem violentia vultus*), the same gleaming eyes (*idem oculi lucent*), the same picture of beastly savagery. Europa admires the bull, a placid creature, and finds his brow and eyes would inspire no fear, and his whole expression was peaceful:<sup>124</sup> *nullae in fronte minae nec formidabile lumen/pacem vultus habet*. Emotions are on the surface, and casually remarked on. As for Medea and Jason, says Ovid, quite light-heartedly,<sup>125</sup> "You could pardon her for loving him. It chanced that the son of Aeson was more beautiful than usual that day. She gazed on him and held her eyes on his face as if she had never seen him before, and in this infatuation she thought the face she gazed on more than mortal, nor could she turn herself away from him."

The influence of the rhetorical schools, the use of the art of ges-

<sup>118</sup> 12. 665-666.

<sup>119</sup> 12. 670-671.

<sup>120</sup> 12. 920.

<sup>121</sup> 12. 939.

<sup>122</sup> *Met.* 1. 498-499.

<sup>123</sup> 1. 237-239.

<sup>124</sup> 2. 857-858.

<sup>125</sup> 7. 84-88 (trans. F. J. Miller).

ture and expression in speaking, come into play when Ajax defends his claim to the arms of Achilles, and with uncontrolled anger let his fierce eye <sup>126</sup> rest a while on the Sigeon shore and on his fleet. His adversary, Ulysses, following somewhat the Homeric pattern of *Iliad* 3, stands up and, holding his eyes for a while on the ground, raises them to the leaders, and breaks silence with speech long awaited; nor is grace lacking to his eloquent words: <sup>127</sup>

adstitit atque oculos paulum tellure moratos  
sustulit ad proceres expectatoque resolvit  
ora sono, neque abest facundis gratia dictis.<sup>128</sup>

In the *Pharsalia* Lucan makes relatively little use of physical description. Of the two principal figures <sup>129</sup> in the epic, Pompey, Lucan's favorite, is sympathetically drawn. On the night before the great battle the poet apostrophizes the general, as he views the plain of Pharsalia for the last time: <sup>130</sup> "with countenance unchanged do thou look upon Emathia." After the battle the defeated general, arriving at Lesbos, is tragically disfigured with paleness,<sup>131</sup> his countenance overhung with white hairs, his garments squalid with black dust. He leaves Lesbos, taking Cornelia with him, only to have her witness her husband's murder before her very eyes.<sup>132</sup> In death he remained majestic in appearance and bearing:

<sup>126</sup> 13. 3-4.

<sup>127</sup> 13. 125-127.

<sup>128</sup> Other examples of Ovid's use of such descriptions are: *Met.* 2. 178-181; 2. 447-448; 2. 470; 2. 748-751; 2. 752; 3. 99-100; 3. 187-188; 3. 273-278; 3. 413-424; 3. 577-578; 4. 346-347; 4. 464-465; 4. 682-683; 5. 92; 5. 500-501; 5. 506; 5. 569-570; 6. 34-35; 6. 165-169; 6. 303-305; 6. 620-621; 7. 496-497; 7. 862; 8. 322-323; 8. 465-470; 8. 677-678; 8. 791-808; 9. 27; 9. 111; 9. 527; 10. 359-360; 10. 609-610; 10. 661-662; 11. 395-399; 11. 417-418; 11. 464; 13. 442-444; 13. 455-456; 13. 540-542; 14. 734; 14. 839-840.

<sup>129</sup> Very little is said of Cato save when Marcia comes to him, bearing the ashes of Hortensius, and they solemnly renew their marriage vows in the presence of Brutus. 2. 333-337; 360-361: no saffron colored veil concealed the downcast features of the bride (*demissos vultus*), Cato admitted no joyousness to his rigid features 2. 373 (*nec duroque admisit gaudia vultu*).

<sup>130</sup> 7. 632-683. *non impare vultu / aspicias Emathiam.*

<sup>131</sup> 8. 54-61.

<sup>132</sup> 8. 589-592; 664-666.



permansisse decus sacrae venerabile formae  
irataeque deis faciem, nil ultima mortis  
ex habitu vultuque viri mutasse fatentur.

Caesar, on the other hand, though hated by Lucan, dominates the scene. He inspires terror in the foe.<sup>133</sup> He commands constant respect from his soldiers by his power of speech: <sup>134</sup>

convocat armatos extemplo ad signa maniplos  
utque satis trepidum turba coeunte tumultum  
composuit vultu dextraque silentia iussit.

Completely controlled, *vultuque serenus*,<sup>135</sup> he grants peace to Afranius, who sued for the Pompeians. Before his soldiers clamoring for peace he appears on a mound of turf, intrepid in countenance <sup>136</sup> (*intrepidus vultu*), and, not alarmed, earns their fear. He harangues his soldiers, inspiring strength and courage in their hearts: <sup>137</sup> "But if I see those tokens that never play your leader false — fierce countenances and threatening eyes — then victory is yours." He is adept at feigning emotion, for while Pompey's murderers suppressed their sighs, and concealed their feelings by joyous features, Caesar mourned: <sup>138</sup>

abscondunt gemitus et pectora laeta  
fronte tegunt, hilaesque nefas spectare cruentum, —  
O bona libertas — cum Caesar lugeat, audent.

Lucan's contempt is never better seen than in the passage where he describes how Caesar, actually overjoyed, received the head of his rival: <sup>139</sup>

nec non his fallere vocibus audet  
adquirique fidem simulati fronte doloris:

<sup>133</sup> 1. 244-246.

<sup>134</sup> 1. 296-298.

<sup>135</sup> 4. 363. But he is quick to anger, when the people of Massilia send deputies to him, deprecating civil war (3. 356-357): *cum turbato iam prodita vultu / ira ducis tandem testata est voce dolorem*.

<sup>136</sup> 5. 316-321.

<sup>137</sup> 7. 290-292 (trans. J. D. Duff).

<sup>138</sup> 9. 1106-1108.

<sup>139</sup> 9. 1032-1041; 1043-1046; 1062-1063.



Outwardly assured <sup>140</sup> (*tum vultu semper celante pavorem*), though the people of Egypt are hostile to him, he comes to Alexandria and visits the temples of the gods, the tomb of Alexander the Great, and falls wholly under the spell of Cleopatra. She entreats Caesar to protect her and her brother against the power of Pothinus, trusting in her beauty. Yet in vain would she have appealed to the ears of Caesar, but her features and her prayers and her unchaste face plead for her: <sup>141</sup>

nequiquam duras temptasset Caesaris aures:  
vultus adest precibus faciesque incesta perorat.

The technique used in this historical epic resembles that of Tacitus in the *Annals*, though momentary descriptions are introduced with less subtlety. Yet the portraits of Pompey and Caesar are similar in nature to those of Agricola and Tiberius in the historian.

When the Argonaut legend reappears after Virgil in the epic tradition of the Roman empire, the mark of Apollonius rather than Virgil is apparent in the portraiture of Medea and Jason. The element of adventure, strong in the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, places emphasis on the account of exciting events of the voyage, the disasters, such as the fight with the people of Cyzicus, the bout between Pollux and Amycus, the terrors of the Cyanean rocks. When the heroes at last arrive in Colchis, Jason undertakes to interview Aeetes, and thereby meets Medea. When Aeetes fails to live up to his agreement to relinquish the golden fleece if the Argonauts fight with him against his brother Perses, Medea abandons her loyalty to her father and is overwhelmed by her love for Jason. She is a young girl, love-struck by the hero, not the tragic queen Dido in desperate pain. In the usual divine machinery Juno transforms Jason with the light of radiant youth, and he appears to the girl in marvelous grace.<sup>142</sup> Counterfeiting the likeness of Chalciope, Medea's sister, she enralls the daughter of Aeetes.<sup>143</sup> Medea watches Jason with eager

<sup>140</sup> IO. 14-15.

<sup>141</sup> IO. 82-85; IO4-IO5.

<sup>142</sup> 5. 363-365.

<sup>143</sup> 6. 479-480.

eyes<sup>144</sup> from her father's walls, as he fights fearlessly<sup>145</sup> for Aeetes, and wherever she turns her glance in search of her brother or her betrothed, there Jason meets her look. Urged on by her sister, she observes him, his eyes flashing beneath his helmet, and the girl with equally burning eyes strains her face toward him. When Jason returns victorious, Aeetes, proving false in his promise, sets before the Argonaut the task of sowing the serpent's teeth. His daughter, perplexed and marveling at the ruler's words, turns her face to the youth.<sup>146</sup> She watches Jason accuse her father of faithlessness, unable to keep her sad eyes from turning toward the gates, where he departs, more magnificent than ever. In conventional scenes of the pangs of the love-torn maiden, she mourns exhausted on her lonely couch, gazing upon her attendants.<sup>147</sup> As Juno observes her wavering, distraught, she no longer retains the face of the pretended Chalciope, but takes her seat upon the rocks of the Caucasus to watch the girl.<sup>148</sup> Venus now tries her skill in disguise, assumes the form of Circe, and stirs the heart of Medea, for whom there is no rest, no peace.<sup>149</sup> So fearful becomes the tumultuous shame within the girl that she, with frenzied glance at Venus, like Pentheus, casts her gaze around, and even contemplates death as a way out of her suffering.<sup>150</sup>

Yet before the start of the terrible task imposed on Jason, through divine machinations, the lovers meet face to face in the grove of Hecate. Each stands motionless with silent face, and every moment Medea longs that Jason will turn his eyes to her and be the first to speak. When the hero sees her terrified and weeping, her cheeks afire with shame,<sup>151</sup> at length he speaks, soothing the love-lorn girl. He begs her not to act like her hated father, for cruelty does not be-

<sup>144</sup> 6. 579-580. *acres oculos*.

<sup>145</sup> 6. 584-586; 604-605; 657-658.

<sup>146</sup> 7. 78-80.

<sup>147</sup> 7. 103-107; 115-116; 121-122; 128-129.

<sup>148</sup> 7. 153-155; 191-192; *attonitos Aeaea in moenia vultus / speque metuque tenens* (after J. H. Mozley).

<sup>149</sup> 7. 214-215.

<sup>150</sup> 7. 292-294.

<sup>151</sup> 7. 407-412 (after Mozley).

come so beautiful a face.<sup>152</sup> She, in turn, desperately tries to encourage him on his way, still hesitates, and scarcely at length lifts up her eyes.<sup>153</sup> The moment of shyness is past, yet both stand with downcast eyes. Then suddenly they lift their eyes, glowing with joy, swiftly in shame their faces fall again, and speech is halted.<sup>154</sup> Medea is still hesitant, at length relinquishes her magic drugs to Jason, and with her help he undertakes his task. Exactly as in Apollonius the emphasis on description of facial expression subsides, and the story is continued in the familiar pattern.<sup>155</sup> As Medea leaves her father's halls, her mother voices the tragic lament of Jason's arrival in Colchis in an apostrophe to the girl:<sup>156</sup> "No color hadst thou then, thy voice was faint, thy glance wandered, and ever was thy face a stranger to rejoicing."

In the longest epic poem in Latin literature, the *Punica* of Silius Italicus, the use of descriptions of physical appearance is again limited, if the number of examples found be related directly to the length of the poem. Yet the portraits that Silius includes are vital to the narrative, and powerfully drawn. In a digression in the sixth book the story of Regulus, which really belongs to the First Punic War, introduces one of the most glorious and honorable figures of the Roman Republic. The unique character of the man comes out in the apostrophe of the general's squire, Marus, to Serranus, Regulus' son, who seeks refuge in his hut after the tragic defeat of Lake Trasumenus.<sup>157</sup> "I saw you, greatest of generals, when, though you were a prisoner, your countenance terrified the citadel of Carthage." Old Marus continues<sup>158</sup> with his account of the intrepid courage, the

<sup>152</sup> 7. 415-416.

<sup>153</sup> 7. 431-433; 436.

<sup>154</sup> 7. 511-515.

<sup>155</sup> 8. 30-31; 54-55.

<sup>156</sup> 8. 163-165 (trans. J. H. Mozley).

<sup>157</sup> 6. 82-84 (trans. J. D. Duff). He speaks of the fire in Regulus' eyes (6. 220): *terribilis gemino de lumine fulgurat ignis*.

<sup>158</sup> 6. 363-370:

fert lumina contra  
pacatus frontem, qualis cum litora primum  
attigit appulsa, rector Sidonia classe.

calm brow which met the gaze of onlookers when he first brought the fleet under his command to the Carthaginian shore, and which likewise was his when, captive, he was sent to Rome to seek terms of peace, and passed through the crowd before unfriendly eyes.<sup>159</sup> Marus as an eyewitness watched the face of the commander as his ship glided into the Tiber—the face, remarks Silius, and the eyes that reveal the mind<sup>160</sup> (*servabam vultus ducis ac prodentia sensum/lumina*). His expression was unchanged in the midst of a thousand dangers, it was the same in Rome, and in the city of Carthage, even when he was tortured. The son listens to the old man, takes up the story, and fills in the picture of his father.<sup>161</sup> His stature was more than human, his unkempt hair fell free from his white head, and on his brow with its disordered locks sat dignity and authority, like nothing since—a portrait reminiscent of the same magnificent composure described in Horace's lines.<sup>162</sup>

Two other portraits have a prominent place in the *Punica*. Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, displays all the characteristics of a man, militarily minded, who will brook no opposition to his determined progress, his frown, his fierceness of countenance,<sup>163</sup> his threatening face when he turned toward Rome and prepared to march back again:<sup>164</sup>

torvos cum versus ad urbem  
ductor Agenoreus vultus remeare parabat,

his daring which stirred equal courage in his soldiers,<sup>165</sup> and the consternation inspired at Rome by his march, quelled by the faces of

<sup>159</sup> 6. 367 (after Duff).

<sup>160</sup> 6. 384-385; 387-388.

<sup>161</sup> 6. 426-430, esp. 428-429:

frontique coma squalente sedebat  
terribilis decoratque animi venerabile pondus . . .

<sup>162</sup> O. 3.5, 41-44:

fertur pudicae coniugis osculum  
parvosque natos ut capitis minor  
ab se removisse et virilem  
torvus humi posuisse vultum.

<sup>163</sup> 11. 542-543; 2. 208-210.

<sup>164</sup> 13. 2-3.

<sup>165</sup> 12. 510.



the senate.<sup>166</sup> Even his address to his son bespeaks a desire to find in his child exactly the impression his own face created: <sup>167</sup> "I recognize my father's countenance and the defiant eyes beneath a frowning brow. I note the depth of your infant cries, and the beginnings of a fierceness like my own."

In contrast is Scipio. His forehead was that of a soldier's. His eyes were bright, but their expression was kind, and those who looked upon him felt both respect and pleasure.<sup>168</sup> He could be relentless, if the occasion demanded.<sup>169</sup> When he returns to Rome in triumph after the Battle of Zama, the bearing that was his at the beginning of the epic is once more gloriously echoed in his ride through the city: <sup>170</sup>

ipse, adstans curru atque auro decoratus et ostro  
martia praebebat spectanda Quiritibus ora.

One scene memorable in the career of Scipio is the debate between Virtue and Pleasure, which Silius describes as appearing before him. This famous debate, stemming from Prodicus, depicts Scipio, like Hercules at the crossroads, sitting in solitude, and the decision in favor of virtue, once made, starts him on his long career. He viewed the examples set before him, and showed his approval in his face.<sup>171</sup> It was shortly after this that he asked for the command of the army in Spain, and received it. Excitement was general. People believed that they saw his father's features in his face, and indeed recognized in Scipio the stern countenance of his uncle as a young man. The debate itself, in which Virtue and Pleasure contend for his allegiance, grants Virtue the opportunity to present arguments which encourage

<sup>166</sup> 12. 551-552: *stat celsus et asper ab ira / ingentemque metum torvo domat ore senatus.*

<sup>167</sup> 3. 75-77 (trans. Duff).

<sup>168</sup> 8. 559-561:

martia frons facilesque comae nec pone retroque  
caesaries brevior: flagrabant lumina miti  
aspectus gratusque inerat visentibus horror.

<sup>169</sup> 9. 412-413.

<sup>170</sup> 17. 645-646.

<sup>171</sup> 15. 122-123; 133-134.



him to ask for the command. Pleasure is described first, a ravishing creature: <sup>172</sup> "the pin in her hair gave studied beauty to her brow, and her roving wanton eyes shot forth flame after flame." The appearance of Virtue was far more in accord with Roman taste. "Her hair that sought no borrowed charm from ordered locks, grew freely about her forehead; her eyes were steady, in face and gait she was more like a man; she showed a cheerful modesty, and her tall stature was set off by the snow-white robe she wore": <sup>173</sup>

frons hirta neque umquam  
composita mutata coma; stans vultus, et ore  
incessuque viro propior, laetique pudoris.

One inevitably turns in comparison to the characterization of Scipio in Livy, for the account of the authority and dignity in the man's appearance, his face creating terror at the height of a mutinous uprising at Sucro,<sup>174</sup> the overpowering effect <sup>175</sup> he produced on Masinissa when he received the Numidian for the first time. The impact of the portraiture of the earlier historian has clearly left its mark on Silius' concept of the Roman commander, and the descriptions in Silius as a whole are closely akin to those in Livy.

In Statius the device of physical description in the portraiture of the principal characters of the *Thebaid* is somewhat more frequently used. Eteocles, the tyrant, free of his colleague, stands erect, fiercely threatening under cruel brows, inspiring terror in his look, overbearing in his pride.<sup>176</sup> Polyneices, exiled, in the prime of life is tall, and mighty in his stride.<sup>177</sup> The brothers in their final duel engage with wrath and fury, "see through their helmets the flames of hate, and

<sup>172</sup> 15. 26-27 (trans. Duff): *fronte decor quaesitus acu, lascivaque crebras / ancipiti motu iaciebant lumina flammis.*

<sup>173</sup> 15. 28-31 (trans. Duff).

<sup>174</sup> 28. 26; 32.

<sup>175</sup> 28. 35.

<sup>176</sup> *Th.* 1. 186-188:

cernis ut erectum torva sub fronte minetur  
saevior adsurgens dempto consorte potestas  
quas gerit ore minas, quanto premit omnia fastu.

<sup>177</sup> 1. 414-417.

search with fierce glance each other's face."<sup>178</sup> Tydeus was no less than Polyneices in strength, though smaller, and fiery in spirit.<sup>179</sup> Parthenopaeus, more elaborately described, is handsome to look upon, but not lacking in courage.<sup>180</sup> His eyes were not insolent, but gentle, at the same time could be stern. Oedipus appears, his hair freed of filth and unkempt locks, serene of countenance<sup>181</sup> (*vultuque sereno.*)

Of the women, beautiful Argia and Deipyle, daughters of Adrastus, are like Diana and Pallas, with a certain modesty of appearance, and *oculi verentes*.<sup>182</sup> Hypsipyle, whom the Argives meet on their march to Thebes, is disheveled, and poor in raiment, yet in her countenance are marks of royal birth, and, even in affliction, dignity<sup>183</sup> (*et adflicto spirat reverentia vultu*).

Entirely different in spirit from the conventional warlike character of the heroes depicted in the *Thebaid* is the romantic and appealing portrait of the young Achilles, his mother Thetis, and the lovely Deidamia in the *Achilleid*. Achilles, in the care of old Chiron, has not yet lost the bloom of youth and a quiet light burns in his glance and there is much of his mother in his look<sup>184</sup> (*tranquillaeque facies oculis et plurima vultu / mater inest*). His mother comes to visit him and is received hospitably by the centaur. Anxious for her son, she soon relaxes her countenance with a smile<sup>185</sup> (*his victo risit Thetis anxia vultu*) as the entertainment proceeds. She proposes to protect her son from the hazards of war by dressing him up in women's clothes to let him live among the daughters of Lycomedes. Achilles at first resists. Thetis directly questions him: "Why do you turn away? What means that glance? Are you ashamed to soften yourself in this garb?"<sup>186</sup> (*cur ora reducis? / quidve parant oculi?*

<sup>178</sup> 11. 526-527 (trans. J. H. Mozley).

<sup>179</sup> 1. 414-417.

<sup>180</sup> 4. 251-253; 9. 702-706.

<sup>181</sup> 8. 242-244; 254.

<sup>182</sup> 1. 536-539; 2. 203-204; cf. 12. 222-223. *atrox visu* (Argia).

<sup>183</sup> 4. 740; 743-746; 768; 5. 25-27.

<sup>184</sup> *Ach.* 1. 163-164.

<sup>185</sup> 1. 194.

<sup>186</sup> 1.271-272 (trans. Mozley).

*pudet hoc mitescere cultu?*) So Achilles obediently complies, after they have taken leave of the centaur, who watches them depart concealing his moist eyes<sup>187</sup> (*udaque celat / lumina*). At the court of Scyros to the newcomer Deidamia instantly far outshines her sisters, and the rosy bloom of her countenance<sup>188</sup> straightway fascinates the young Achilles. The love he suddenly feels does not stay hidden, but the flame penetrates his whole body, and crimsones his cheeks.<sup>189</sup> His mother, unaware, hands him over to Lycomedes as Achilles' sister with the remark:<sup>190</sup> "Don't you see how fierce her look is, and like her brother's?" (*nonne vides, ut torva genas aequandaque fratri*). The Scyrian princesses were not reluctant to look upon him with shrewd glances of appraisal, and note how tall he was in head and neck, how broad in chest and shoulders.<sup>191</sup> Deidamia becomes conscious of how closely he is watching her, and she, in turn, marvels at the deep tones of his voice and the way in which he shuns all the others and follows her with too attentive look<sup>192</sup> (*nimio quod lumine sese/figat*), and at all times hangs constantly on her words. When at last Achilles is emboldened to confess and pursue his love, and to admit the ignoble disguise he has been forced to endure, the princess is horror struck, although she had long suspected his good faith. She trembles at his presence, while his countenance was changed as he made confession<sup>193</sup> (*horruit et facies multum mutata fatentis*). Meanwhile, as the affair progresses, Ulysses arrives in search of the hero, and the ruse of the shield and armor discovers the true Achilles after he has escaped detection only by the constant resourcefulness of Deidamia. Once the youth is revealed, the story follows its fa-

<sup>187</sup> I. 233-234.

<sup>188</sup> I. 297.

<sup>189</sup> I. 304-306: *sed fax. . . / in vultus atque ora redit lucemque genarum / tingit.*

<sup>190</sup> I. 351 (trans. Mozley).

<sup>191</sup> I. 366-368:

nec turba piarum  
Scyriadum cessat nimio defigere visu  
virginis ora novae.

<sup>192</sup> I. 568-569; 584 (after Mozley).

<sup>193</sup> I. 664.

miliar course, Achilles reveals himself to Lycomedes as his son-in-law, and the father of Deidamia's child, and the fragmentary second book ends with his departure for Troy. Compared with the fairly conventional type of portraiture of the *Thebaid*, that of the *Achilleid* is refreshing.

This study started with the Trojan war and the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon expressed in terms of relentless anger reflected on the face. It ends with the romantic description of the young Achilles, whose countenance is tranquil, but who, hoodwinked by his mother from taking part in the Trojan war, falls desperately in love with an island princess in whose home he has been carefully hidden and disguised. From the early period of epic in Greece to the Silver Age in Rome the κλέα ἀνδρῶν has followed a constantly changing course. The Alexandrian love poetry of Apollonius has been imposed upon the martial epic of Homer to produce in the end of the first century of the empire a poem that tells of Achilles, son of Peleus, who is involved by an over-affectionate, almost mortal mother in a kind of romantic situation and love affair, a treatment often filled with unconscious humor, that borders closely on a drawing room comedy of manners. But it is important to observe that much of the thread of the narrative is carried by the suggestion of facial expression on the characters in the romance.

Literary portraiture in epic runs the gamut of human emotions in descriptions of physical appearance used for emphasis on heroic physique and heroic qualities of character, for delineation of every phase of love, happy or disillusioned, for the expression of all the deeper moments of human experience in sorrow, in anger, or in joy. These descriptions are sometimes boldly, more often subtly, interwoven in the narrative in varying frequency with other commonly used devices of characterization.

Thus portraiture in Homer is introduced for the sake of intensifying such episodes as the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, for delineating the fierceness of the Homeric heroes on the battlefield, for presenting the picture of Odysseus indirectly through the eyes of others by repeated comparison with Telemachus, and comparison of the son with the father. Apollonius Rhodius is above all

else concerned with the development of Medea's passion for Jason, every phase of which he records with delicate innuendo in the conventional manner of erotic poetry, and this skillful type of delineation is his major contribution to the technique of portraiture in epic. Virgil bears the imprint of Homeric descriptions of heroes on the battlefield, but in the fourth book of the *Aeneid* shifts his emphasis in portraiture from the growing power of love treated in Apollonius to the catastrophe that follows on the destruction of that love, and the havoc wrought upon its victims. Ovid is facile and suggestive with momentary glimpses of his characters throughout the *Metamorphoses*. Lucan in the *Pharsalia* and Silius Italicus in the *Punica* both construct portraits of the great historical figures of their epics in terms of the strength and courage of intrepid and at times ruthless commanders, Pompey and Caesar, Regulus, Hannibal, and Scipio. Valerius Flaccus follows the pattern of Apollonius rather than Virgil in the delineation of Medea and Jason, while Statius in the *Thebaid* carries on the tradition of Homer and Virgil for the conventional portraits of fighting heroes, but in the *Achilleid* strikes a new romantic note in the description of the young Achilles at the court of Scyrus.





SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE  
DEGREE OF PH.D.

JOHN PETER CAVARNOS — *The Psychology of Gregory of Nyssa*<sup>1</sup>

THIS dissertation undertakes to describe the psychology in the thought of Gregory, bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia. The writer takes into consideration what other scholars (Akylas, Cherriss, Gronau, Stigler) have contributed to the subject in question, indicating his agreement or disagreement with their opinions. His chief aim, however, is to interpret the authentic works of Gregory of Nyssa and compare the views expressed in these with those of thinkers like Plato, Origen, Nemesius of Emesa, and others who have dealt with the same problems regarding the nature of the soul, its origin, and destiny; resurrection and a future life.

Gregory's psychology follows the main lines of the classical tradition. Hence the method of approach the writer employs is that used to study the psychology of philosophers and church doctors of antiquity. This thesis consists of an introduction and seven chapters, and is divided into two main divisions. The first division is concerned with the nature, origin, and destiny of the soul. The other division deals with the relation of soul and body, the faculties of the soul, and free will.

The introduction indicates Gregory's place in the field of psychology and his appreciative use of the Hellenistic *paideia* in the service of Christian thought.

The first chapter, entitled "The Anthropology of Gregory," serves as a background for the entire work. It gives Gregory's conception of man, his creation, nature, and place in the universe. Man is conceived as created by the love of God to be a link between the spiritual and material worlds. With his immaterial and immortal soul man is bound with the divine; and by his possession of a material body he is bound with the irrational world. Man was placed in this world, not as a being that merited punishment, but as one who is to enjoy and

<sup>1</sup> Degree in Mediaeval Greek.

rule a creation prepared for him in advance. It is for this reason that man came last in the creation and was placed at the top of the ascending scale of earthly creatures. Originally, man was simple and uncompounded in that he was with the good alone. But by his possession of a free will, which is a divine gift, man chose evil and so sinned and fell. To correct this error of man, God made provision for salvation by bringing in death and dividing the human life in two, the flesh and the soul.

The second chapter discusses the nature of the soul, its uncompounded nature and its resemblance to God. Gregory makes a sharp and clear-cut distinction between the soul on the one hand, and the body on the other. For Gregory, as for the ancients, the science of the soul has two great divisions, the metaphysical and the psychological proper. The first is concerned with the nature or essence of the soul, its origin and destiny. The latter division is primarily concerned with the determination, definition, and classification of the diverse faculties of the soul. This chapter is confined to the essence of the soul. Only "nous," according to Gregory, is divine or *soul proper*. The origin of the soul, its relation to the body, and its faculties are taken up in other chapters.

In the third chapter the writer expounds Gregory's traducianist theory of the origin of the soul. By reason of the absence of scriptural authority for or against any theory respecting the origin of the soul, the Cappadocian father had recourse to what philosophy had to say on the origin of the soul. In his search for a satisfactory solution of this problem, he cleared the way by first rejecting the doctrine of the preëxistence of the soul, and along with it the theory of metempsychosis. He then disposed of the theory which held that the soul comes after the body and that consequently the body is superior to and more esteemed than the soul. Gregory accepted generationism as the proper solution to the problem of the origin of the soul: the soul and the body have a simultaneous beginning in generation, and the soul is transmitted in the generating seed of man.

The fourth chapter discusses the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and restoration, and shows the importance of the Holy Scriptures, Origen, and Plato in the development of these

doctrines of Gregory. Gregory believed not only in the immortality of the soul, but also in the resurrection of the body and in the restoration of man. This world, according to Gregory, is a preparation; man has a rôle to play before his resurrection. The various stages of development we go through in this life are merely the means; the real purpose and end is our restoration to the first condition, and our becoming a likeness of God.

The fifth chapter is concerned with the relation of soul and body. The soul and the body, according to Gregory, come into existence at the same time. How the body is united to the soul is unknown. But he indicates that the soul acts upon the body through the senses. The soul cannot be conceived in the human body without the senses.

The sixth chapter discusses the faculties of the soul. Though the soul for Gregory is indivisible, nevertheless he, like Plato, speaks of three parts: "nous," the spirited faculty, and the appetitive faculty. He uses this division to describe the activity of the soul in association with the body. But he believes that the two lower faculties do not belong to the soul proper.

The seventh and last chapter studies the problem of free will and virtue in Gregory. It does not enter the domain of ethics as such in his thought. Rather, it confines itself to the main points of those aspects of ethics and free will which for Gregory are essential in the proper study of the soul.

JOSEPH KENNETH DOWNING — *The Treatise of Gregory of Nyssa In Illud: Tunc et Ipse Filius, A Critical Text with Prolegomena*.<sup>1</sup>

A CRITICAL text of this important but neglected work of Gregory of Nyssa is presented for the first time in a trustworthy form, eighteen manuscripts representing the major portion of those extant.

<sup>1</sup> Degree in Classical Philology.

The manuscripts fall clearly into two classes. The first group, Family I, is descended from an archetype ( $\Phi$ ) probably recovered in the ninth century. There are nine members of this family drawn upon for the text. The oldest is *O* (*Monacensis graecus* 370) of the tenth century and closely allied with it is *K* (*Marcianus* 67) of the eleventh century. From the latter are derived four of the late *MSS* (*MS* 6 of the seventeenth century and *MSS* 7, 8, 9 of the sixteenth century). The *MSS P* (*Vaticanus graecus* Pii II, 1) of the eleventh century and *X* (*Athous* Ἐσφιγμένον 49) of the twelfth century show some common characteristics which serve to differentiate them from *O* and *K*. From *P* is descended the sixteenth-century *MS* 5. *MS X* is marred by omissions and peculiar readings which presuppose an ancestor intermediate between itself and the common source shared with *P*. The members of Family I are singularly consistent in readings and therefore difficult to classify.

The second group, Family II, is descended from the archetype  $\Phi$  through the medium of a major recension, designated as  $\Psi$ , which was probably executed at the time of the recovery of  $\Phi$ . The old representatives of Family II are three in number:  $\Gamma$  (*Coislinianus* 235) of the tenth century whose text shows the results of two intermediate minor revisions; *Q* (*Taurinensis* c. 1.11) of the early fourteenth century which shares with  $\Gamma$  the readings of one of these minor revisions; and *Z* (*Vaticanus graecus* 1433) of the twelfth century which comes from  $\Psi$  through the medium of a slightly revised and defective copy. From *Q* are descended all the late *MSS* of the Family (*MSS* 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18).

The agreement of the members of Family I gives us a valuable picture of the archetype  $\Phi$  and preserves readings which the reviser of  $\Psi$  had before him when he attempted to restore the text. The recension  $\Psi$  is particularly unfortunate in its deletions, but many of the readings are sound corrections and must be accepted in the text.

The first printed edition (Morel, Paris, 1615) was based on a *MS* closely related to *MS* 6 (*Vaticanus Urbinas graecus* 13) belonging to Family I.

Of the authorship of the treatise *In Illud: Tunc et Ipse Filius* there can be no question. Incorporating as it does the ideas of Ori-



gen regarding the ultimate resurrection of all men to glory, the tract was for a long while open to suspicion on dogmatic grounds. Since the cessation of the doctrinal question and the general admission of the presence of this Origenistic viewpoint in Gregory's famous works, the *Macrina* and *Oratio Catechetica*, no objections to authorship are valid on the score of doctrine. Internal evidence, recurrent phrases and ideas characteristic of Gregory, establish the connection with him, and the origin of the treatise, which is tied closely with the books *C. Eunomium*, particularly Book I, par. 191 sq. where such a treatise is envisioned, and the *Εἰς τὴν Εὐνομίου Ἐκθεσιν*, par. 198 sq. (formerly *C. Eunomium* II), where the discussion of the scriptural uses of ὑποταγή closely parallels the same matter in the *In Illud: Tunc*, serves not only to affirm the authorship but to suggest the year 383 as the time of composition. Gregory's brother, Peter, is the possible recipient of the treatise.

JOHN RATCLIFFE GRANT — *De decretis Atticis quae e memoria scriptorum veterum tradita sunt* <sup>1</sup>

IN a Harvard dissertation of some years ago N. M. Pusey collected and edited the Athenian laws which have come down in the literary tradition.<sup>2</sup> It was with the intention of performing a similar service for the Athenian decrees that the present study was undertaken, for three centuries of scholarly research have established the principle that such documents are to be considered genuine unless they can be proved false on grounds of form and content. The corpus of Greek literature was gone through, with the aid of *indices verborum* where suitable ones existed; and all Athenian decrees, fully and partially quoted, paraphrased or alluded to, were collected.

<sup>1</sup> Degree in Classical Philology.

<sup>2</sup> *NOMOI TΩN ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ*, 1937.

Examination of this varied harvest (Praefatio) proved that while many Greek authors, by mention and partial quotation, show their awareness of Athenian decrees, they seldom quote them fully and literally.<sup>3</sup> Three reasons are here advanced for this shortcoming, viz., that the Greek author, generally speaking, was more interested in artistic form than in scientific accuracy of detail; that the editors through whose hands the texts descended were affected by like feelings; and, finally, that at a time when the techniques of writing were less highly developed than in the present day, it would have been a matter of considerable inconvenience for an author to visit Archive or Acropolis and copy down the necessary texts.

However that may be, few decrees have come down quoted with any degree of completeness. Only sixteen have been distinguished and treated here, eleven quite fully, and five furnished with selected bibliographies and texts; nine others, listed in the Praefatio, are quoted with considerable completeness; the rest are fragmentary.<sup>4</sup> This limitation in scope of the thesis originally planned was made necessary by the difficult and controversial nature of the decrees that were treated, and by the emergence of some subsidiary topics which seemed to demand investigation in a preliminary work of this sort.

Three such subsidiary topics are considered in the opening chapters, the first of which supports the view of those who maintain that before 403/2 the difference in Athens between νόμοι and ψηφίσματα both in matter and manner of passing was slight and indefinite; the third is an examination of the evidence concerning the State Archive, with the conclusions that such an institution existed in Athens from the fifth century, but that its internal arrangement was not so de-

<sup>3</sup> This is said, of course, without reference to those Attidographers, and collectors of the Peripatetic school, and scholars and antiquarians of a later date, whose writings apart from a few fragments have unfortunately perished.

<sup>4</sup> I — [Dem.] LIX 104 sq.; Thuc. IV 118.11 sqq.; Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 29.2 sq.; 29.4; 29.5; 30; 31; [Plut.] 833 D sqq.; Andoc. I 96 sqq.; 77 sqq.; 83 sq.

II — [Plut.] 851 F sqq.; 850 F sqq.; 851 D sqq.; Diog. Laert. VII 10 sqq.; Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* XIV 149 sqq.

III — Xen. *Hell.* I vii, 9 sq.; [Dem.] L 4 sqq.; Dem. XXIII 172 sq.; XXIV 26 sqq.; Aesch. III 125 sqq.; III 27 sq.; Plut. *Demetr.* XIII; Athen. VI 234 e; IV 171 d.

tailed as to obviate the need of individual documents' carrying full prescripts.

The second chapter treats at considerable length the part played by individuals in the initiation and passing of decrees at Athens, a matter about which it seemed that there must be some modification of opinion as represented by the Busolt-Swoboda dictum: "Meist enthielt er [d.i. der Vorbeschluss des Rates] einen bestimmten Beschlussantrag, bisweilen überliess er ohne einen solchen die Beschlussfassung in vollem Umfange dem freien Ermessen der Versammlung."<sup>5</sup> Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.* 45.4) mentions as of equal importance these two means of initiating legislation, and modern criticism is open to question in giving such predominating weight to the former. This view is supported in a general way by the presence of that distinct class (*οἱ πολιτευόμενοι, οἱ ῥήτορες*) whose well-defined function was *γράφειν* as well as *λέγειν*, and in a more particular way by the compilation of an index of such men with decrees attributed to them, which shows clearly that a great part of their activity along these lines took place in their non-bouleutic years. Evidence is further cited which indicates that the composition of decrees was a personal matter, and the rôle commonly ascribed to the Secretary in this regard is called in question, as well as the notion that he kept "minutes" of the proceedings in the Council and Assembly. Finally, the mechanics whereby individuals might initiate and carry motions to the Assembly are considered, resulting in a picture of the *στρατηγοί* (principally) in the fifth century, and *οἱ πολιτευόμενοι* and *οἱ ῥήτορες* (principally) in the fourth, working intimately, if not officially, with the Senate, and implementing their policies by *ψηφίσματα* whose composition and passage were an integral part of their political activity.

Some of the points which arose in editing the decrees handled should now be mentioned, though it is to be noted that the nature of the evidence is such that certainty in many cases seems unattainable unless further evidence appears. For the first decree ([Dem.] LIX 104 *sq.*), recording the grant of Athenian citizenship to the Pla-

<sup>5</sup> G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, II, rec. H. Swoboda, [München, 1926] 996.

taeans, a later date than is commonly supposed is suggested, viz., 424/3. There is also an attempt to explain the differences between the decree and the citizenship law, quoted in the adjacent text, which have troubled many scholars. My explanation is based on my conclusion that the decree is earlier, and consequently exact similarity with the law is not to be expected. In the decree ordering the truce of 423, quoted by Thucydides (IV 118.11 *sqq.*), an explanation is attempted of the formula  $\epsilon\delta\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon\tau\hat{\omega}\delta\eta\mu\omega$  which is without parallel at this time. An emendation is also suggested in part of the text that has given editors considerable trouble.<sup>6</sup> Nothing definite came out of an examination of the tantalizing problems raised by Aristotle's documents concerning the oligarchic revolution of 411, but the main points of difference between his and Thucydides' accounts are discussed and some tentative suggestions made. In the decree which orders Antiphon's trial ([Plut.] 833 D *sqq.*), it is proposed that the part played by the Generals is unparalleled elsewhere, and again some tentative suggestions are made. A reading in Patroclides' decree (Andoc. I 77 *sqq.*), which has been rejected by some and defended by others,<sup>7</sup> is finally explained and confirmed by an inscription recovered in the Agora,<sup>8</sup> whereby it becomes clear that there was not only an amnesty for all  $\alpha\tau\iota\mu\omicron\iota$  (except certain designated classes), but *tabulae novae* as far as concerned public debts. Finally, in the treatment of Tisamenus's decree, the Athenian νομοθεσία in the closing years of the fifth century is discussed, with two conclusions. The first is that there was not in or after Euclides' year a complete recension and new edition of all the laws passed in preceding years, and the second is that there was never at Athens a "corpus iuris solidum" as envisaged by some scholars.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> IV 118.14:  $\eta\ \pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\ (\eta)\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\upsilon.$

<sup>7</sup> Andoc. I 77:  $\eta\ \epsilon\iota\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \mu\eta\ \epsilon\chi\epsilon\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta.$

<sup>8</sup> *Hesp.* 5 (1936) 393 *sqq.*, which was brought to my attention by Professor W. S. Ferguson.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., I. Schreiner, *De Corpore Juris Atheniensium* (diss. Bonnae) 1913.



J. HAROLD GREENLEE — *The Gospel Text of Cyril of Jerusalem*<sup>1</sup>

IN any attempt to determine the "local text" of the Gospels used in Jerusalem during the first half of the fourth century, Cyril of Jerusalem holds a unique position. He is practically the only Church Father of this period, of whose writings there is an appreciable amount extant, whose Gospel quotations can be considered, without serious question, to represent the text then commonly used in Jerusalem. The present investigation analyzes the Gospel quotations in the works of Cyril, in an attempt to identify their textual affinities and thereby to identify the local text of Jerusalem at the time of Cyril.

The quotations which were used are derived almost entirely from Cyril's Catechetical and Mystagogic Lectures and his Homily on the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda, although such of his remaining brief works as are generally considered genuine were also examined. The quotations from each Gospel were examined separately. For each Gospel a chart was prepared, analyzing the support for each of Cyril's variants from the Textus Receptus. In order to determine the degree of faithfulness of Cyril's quotations to the type of text with which it is most closely identified, another set of charts similarly analyzes the support of substantial variants in which Cyril agrees with the Textus Receptus. Because of the relation of the whole problem to the problem of the "Caesarean" text, lists were also prepared comparing in each Gospel the readings of Cyril with Origen's "Caesarean" text and with Eusebius.

The results of the investigation apparently confirm the correctness of previous work in identifying the Caesarean text in Mark. They also show Cyril's quotations to be a good witness for the Caesarean text in all four Gospels. The bearing of Cyril's text upon the question of the two divisions of the Caesarean text is not quite so revealing; but his text seems to show, in the Synoptic Gospels, a slightly closer affinity for the division represented by family 13, etc.; while in John it shows a slightly closer affinity for the division represented

<sup>1</sup> Degree in Biblical and Patristic Greek.



by ©, etc. The greatest amount of support for Cyril's text of the Gospels is given by the Georgian version. A definite connection also emerges between the text used by Cyril and that used by Eusebius and Origen in Caesarea.

The evidence seems conclusive that the local text of Jerusalem at the middle of the fourth century, the text used by Cyril of Jerusalem, was the Caesarean text, which should therefore perhaps be designated the "Palestinian" text.

CEDRIC H. WHITMAN — *The Religious Humanism of Sophocles*<sup>1</sup>

THE scope of such a study as this one must of necessity be rather wide, although its central inquiry may be summed up in the question: What is the meaning of divinity for Sophocles? There have been numerous treatments of Sophocles' religious outlook, but their very number and variety proclaim the need for further study and new methods. Statements to the effect that Sophocles was placid, self-restrained, and pious have become the commonplaces of our treatment of him. But these qualities, which may indeed have been evident in the poet's public life, have been applied indiscriminately and without definition as key words to his art, with the result that he appears to us today either as a poet of well-worn truisms or else a *poète pure*, who wrote works of art for their own sake.

This traditional, classic point of view, with all its inconsistencies, rests mainly upon the collective evidence of single passages about *sophrosyné*, *hybris*, and the power of the gods. The present study assumes that these professions, with their glibness and currency, are not the central message of Sophocles. On the other hand, if we interpret the plays on the basis of the total actions in which the heroes are involved, new values appear which controvert the pietism of the chorus and secondary characters, and offer a less formulistic, but far

<sup>1</sup> Degree in Classical Philology.

more profound and intelligible commentary on the poet's thinking. The emphasis of this new approach is shifted from the explicit to the implicit, from the chorus to the protagonist, and from the parts to the whole.

Concomitant with the effort to break down the traditional view is the attempt to restore Sophocles to his rightful place in the intellectual history of the fifth century. It will be seen that far from resisting all the developments of his time in the name of an obscure and ill-defined piety, Sophocles was deeply affected and faced the same problems that Euripides did, although with vastly different results. The primary question of Greek tragedy was always one of theodicy — the question of the dubious justice of the gods, and, as corollary, the value of the life of man. A too simple acceptance of his choral maxims has led us to place Sophocles outside these problems, as though for him they were all settled. The truth is, however, that they form the marrow of his art, and his concern with them is visible in three distinct stages of development whose similarities and differences I have tried to describe in the three principal chapters of this work. His timelessness therefore appears to be the result, and not the cause, of his art. I hope I have replaced the traditional static view of Sophocles as the poet in an eternal vacuum of sublime but insubstantial and rather naïve faith by the more dynamic aspect of his struggle with the basic problems of tragedy.

The complete rejection of the Aristotelian theory of the tragic flaw, or *hamartia*, was the inevitable result of an historical approach. I have rejected it on two principal grounds: first, because it does not fit the facts; and, second, because it reduces the dignity of tragedy. In the light of Plato's criticism of poetry, Aristotle's theory shows itself for what it is, an attempt to define the moral value of tragedy as a public institution. As such, it is interesting, and consistent with the philosopher's ethics generally. But Plato's objection remains valid: poetry and philosophy teach different things, and Aristotle in my opinion has not succeeded in proving otherwise. The moral force of fifth-century tragedy cannot be reduced to a simple sin and punishment formula, in order to conform to the demands of fourth-century ethics. Tragedy has its own moral dignity, which is more

apparent in the works of Sophocles — for whom the hamartia theory was invented — than in either of the other two great dramatists.

My method of approach, therefore, has been to define the moral problem of each play by referring it to the total action and the character of the hero, whose virtues inevitably proved more illuminating than all the tragic flaws that have been invented for him. Sophoclean tragedy thus emerges as a treatment of the basically tragic nature of heroic morality. For his characters are heroes in the truest sense of the term, and their fall is due to the action of their inner law upon themselves. It is this quality of inner law, or the heroic standard, which has been most seriously misinterpreted by previous scholars as hybris, pride, or a breach of the world order. That it is in truth a morally constructive and good quality and not a moral failing is the principal argument of my interpretation. The spectacle is therefore that of a good man brought to ruin, but through the agency of a moral demand which cannot be denied — that is, tragic areté.

Such at least is the tragic pattern of Sophocles' first period, in which I include the *Ajax* and *Antigone*. The second period, in which the *Trachiniae* and *Oedipus Rex* fall, differs from the first in that no clear justification of this heroic areté emerges. It is present, and still functions as the tragic cause; but the hero's self-destruction no longer implies his self-vindication. The second period is one of embittered if not broken faith in the value of man. The three last plays comprise a rehabilitation of that faith, but in altered terms. The object of heroism is still the vindication of its inner moral dignity, but it is achieved by endurance and resistance rather than by death. Throughout, I have tried to show that the traditional gods are completely outside the causal scheme of Sophoclean tragedy, but are used with extreme subtlety to symbolize situations already created by the conflict of character and circumstance. Hence the essence of Sophocles' religion is not to be found in a reactionary adherence to cult deities, but in a profound faith in the inner divinity of man, which asserts itself first through death, and, in the last period, through the ability to preserve moral integrity within human life. Certain recurrent themes, as well as analogies with the politico-

ethical values of fifth-century Athens, tend to bear out my analysis, and I have moreover tried to prove the chronological order of the plays independently of the main argument.

Finally, the limits of inner and outer divinity are defined in my last chapter. The argument here depends in part on inductive reasoning from the tragic situations as implied in the plays, and in part on the tracing of Sophocles' sense of reality, which he partially reveals in certain recurrent passages on shadows and images in contrast to what is real and true. Divinity appears in man in the form of inner moral law; outside of man it is amoral, and the hero achieves his fullest dignity in his conflict with the daemonic force of the divine outside himself. Thus too he arrives at a kind of greater, or mythic life, which is most clearly indicated at the close of the *Oedipus at Colonus*.

In summary, I hope that I have shown, instead of the static, classic view of Sophocles, a picture of the poet's religious development; instead of the notion of his unshakable piety toward cult deities, his varying faith in the value of man; instead of the theory of the tragic flaw, the doctrine that the hero's moral excellence is the cause of tragedy; and, finally, instead of the popular belief in the gap between God and man, some evidence that Sophocles regarded divinity as immanent in man, capable of asserting itself triumphantly through the natural medium of the disciplined, heroic character.





## INDEX

- Alexander the Great, 114 f., 123  
 Anatolian names, 174-179  
 Apollonius Rhodius, 197-201  
 Aristophanes: on Athenian imperialism, 111  
 Athenian decrees: in ancient authors, 223-226  
 Athenian empire, 123  
 Augustus and imperialistic expansion of Rome, 120-122  
 Bloch, Herbert: *Indices to the Roman Brick-Stamps*, 1-104  
 brick-stamps, Roman, 1-104  
 Caesar and Roman imperialism, 119 f.  
 Carneades the Sceptic, 118  
 Cavernos, J. P., 219-221  
 Cicero: *On the Commonwealth*, 118-120  
 Constantinus Manasses: on the beauty of Helen, 189 f.  
 Cyril of Jerusalem: Gospel text of, 227 f.  
 Downing, J. K., 221-223  
 Etruscans: arrival in Italy: date of, 165 f.  
     in Asia Minor, 174-179  
     in Italy, 172-174  
     names of, 167, 172, 175-187; in Chiusi and Orvieto, 181  
 Evans, Elizabeth C.: *Literary Portraiture in Ancient Epic*, 189-217  
 Frank, Tenney: on Roman imperialism, 116  
 Grant, J. R., 223-226  
 Greenlee, J. H., 227 f.  
 Gregory of Nyssa: psychology of, 219-221  
     treatise *In Illud: Tunc et Ipse Filius*, 221-223  
 Hammond, Mason: *Ancient Imperialism: Contemporary Justifications*, 105-161  
 Herodotus: on matronymics in Lycia, 178  
 Hobson, J. A.: on imperialism, 106 f., 148 f.  
 Homer, 189-197  
 imperialism: ancient, 105-161  
     Athenian, 108-111  
     defined, 105-107  
     Persian, 107 f.  
     Roman, 115-123  
 Isocrates: Pan-Hellenic ideal of, 112 f.  
 Italic influences: on Etruscan, 180-187  
 Italic names, 180-187  
 Langer, W. L.: on imperialism, 106 f.  
 Latin names, 168-172, 182-187  
 literary portraiture in ancient epic, 189-217  
 Livy: on Roman imperialism, 121  
 Lucan, 206-208  
 Lydian names, 175  
 names: primitive, 165  
     *nomen gentilicium*, Latin: origin of, 163-187  
 Ovid, 205 f.  
 Pericles, 109-111  
 Persian empire, 107 f.

- Physical description: technique of:  
 Apollonius Rhodius, 197-201;  
 Homer, 189-197; Lucan, 206-208;  
 Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 205 f.;  
 Silius Italicus, 210-213; Statius,  
 213-217; Valerius Flaccus, 208-  
 210;  
 Virgil's *Aeneid*, 201-205  
 Pliny the Younger, 122  
 Polybius: on Roman expansion, 116-  
 118  
 Ps.-Xenophon: on Athenian govern-  
 ment, 111  
 Pulgram, Ernst: *The Origin of the  
 Latin Nomen Gentilicium*, 163-  
 187  
 Ribezzo, F.: on Etruscan influence on  
 Latin, 182 f.  
 Roman imperialism, 115-123  
 Romulus-legend, 164, 167  
 Rutilius Namatianus, 123  
 Sabines: system of names of, 167-171  
 Sallust: on the decline of Rome, 153 f.  
 Scipio the Elder, 147  
 Scipio the Younger, 147, 153  
 Silius Italicus, 210-213  
 Silvan dynasty of Alba Longa, 168-  
 170  
 Sophocles: religious humanism of,  
 228-231  
 Statius, 213-217  
 Tacitus, 122, 157 f.  
 Thucydides: on Athenian imperialism,  
 109-111  
 Valerius Flaccus, 208-210  
 Virgil, 121, 201-205  
 Whitman, C. H., 228-231  
 Zoroastrian religion and Persian im-  
 perialism, 108



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